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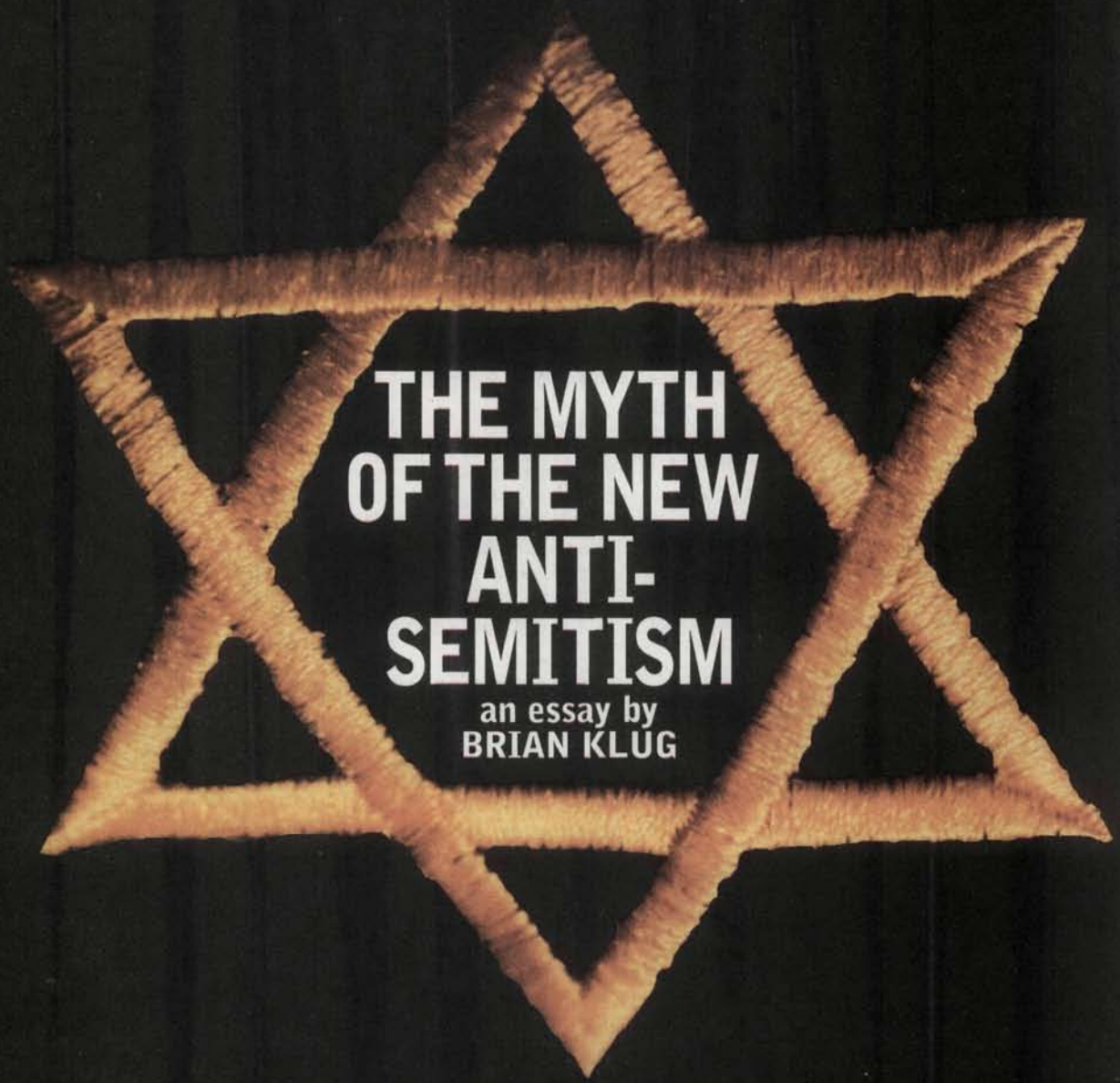
AFTA AT 10: WHERE DO WE GO ROM HERE?
Jeff Faux
Eric Alterman
. Bernie Sanders

WHY I'M FOR CLARK
Lieut. Gov.
Barbara Lawton

ABORTION WITHOUT APOLOGY
Jennifer Baumgardner

THE KITCHEN-ABLE STATE OF THE UNION
bert L. Borosage

E ART WORLD'S EW BAD BOY
Arthur C. Danto



THE MYTH OF THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

an essay by
BRIAN KLUG

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LETTERS

R.O. BLECHMAN

THAILAND & AIDS

New York City

■ Thank you for your editorial "The AIDS Challenge" [Dec. 22] and for *The Nation*'s attention to the global AIDS crisis. It is unfortunate, though, that you refer to Thailand as a model in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Thailand's achievements in HIV prevention early in its epidemic have long since been overshadowed by its brutal repression of injection drug users, a group at very high HIV risk. The Thai government's recent crackdowns in its "war on drugs" have resulted in more than 2,500 extrajudicial killings. The government has consistently vilified drug users and denied them the most basic human rights, making it nearly impossible to establish HIV prevention or AIDS care services for drug users. HIV is on the march among Thai drug users, who have little hope of humane treatment either for their addiction or for HIV-related illnesses. With regard to combating the AIDS challenge posed by injection drug use, Thailand is a model of worst practices. JOANNE CSETE

HIV/AIDS Program, Human Rights Watch

Joanne Csete is absolutely right—Thailand's recent war on drug users is both brutal and wrongheaded. But we sang Thailand's praises for condom promotion, and in that regard, it truly is a model: Since 1991, when the government instituted its 100 percent condom-use campaign, HIV infection rates dropped among one carefully studied group, soldiers, from 12 percent to less than 3 percent. Infection rates among sex workers also declined. As the United States seeks to spread its unproven abstinence-only approach throughout the developing world, Thailand's success with condom promotion is a story that needs to be told. —*The Editors*

STEELWORKERS & TARIFFS

Washington, DC

■ Doug Henwood is a bit off the mark in arguing that the steel tariffs did not help US steelworkers ["Steeling for 2004," Dec. 29]. He compares the rate of job loss in the steel industry with the overall rate of job loss in the economy. While the whole picture surely cannot be captured in such a simple comparison, a more appropriate measure would be the rate of job loss for production workers in the steel industry with the rate of job loss for production workers in manufacturing as a whole.

This comparison shows a loss of 21.9 percent of the production jobs in steel in the nineteen months before the imposition of the tariffs, compared with 13.1 percent for manufacturing as a whole. In the nineteen post-tariff months for which data are available, the job loss is 9.9 percent in steel, compared with 6.7 percent for manufacturing as a whole. In other words, steel was losing production jobs at a rate that was 67 percent higher than manufacturing as a whole before the tariff, compared with a rate of job loss that was 48 percent higher while the tariff was in place. This is perhaps not a resounding success, but not quite the obvious failure that Henwood's numbers imply.

It would be nice if progressives were as concerned about the protectionist barriers (in the form of licensing requirements and other restrictions) that insure high wages for professionals like doctors, lawyers and accountants, as they are about steel tariffs, whose impact is trivial in comparison. But I suspect that far more *Nation* readers (and writers) benefit from professional barriers than steel tariffs, hence the lack of interest in the topic. DEAN BAKER

Center for Economic and Policy Research

HENWOOD REPLIES

New York City

■ We can play numbers games from now to the election, but the main point won't change—the tariffs did nothing to reverse job losses in steel and almost certainly caused job losses in steel-using industries. But I agree with Dean Baker on professional licensing as a form of elite protectionism, and hope he'll develop that topic at greater length for *The Nation*.

DOUG HENWOOD

GLOBALIZATION, WHAT IS IT GOOD FOR?

Seattle

■ "No one here is against globalization," I told the reporter in the NGO Center during the Cancún WTO talks. "We are against *corporate* globalization." He didn't get it, and apparently neither does Doug Henwood ["Beyond Globophobia," Dec 1]. The movement is not motivated by defending borders but by countering corporate and government abuses of power and by promoting democracy. We in this movement are fully aware of just how global we are—strategizing across time zones by computer, spending hundreds of hours a year flying to distant countries for international and national politicking, meeting in cities around the world, jointly writing position papers in many languages, lobbying delegations at international negotiations.

"Globalization" today is about the privatization of drinking water and government services, not merely the internationalization of automobile production; biopiracy and the struggle to prevent converting the knowledge (and even the body elements) of indigenous peoples into commodities, not merely the ravages of international oil prospecting; demanding the application of the precautionary principle ("look before you leap") embodied in the basic EU treaty and in more than forty US laws from the pre-Reagan era, when the government was interested in consumer protection, to new international documents; fighting for—and using—transparency in government in order to provide critical oversight; supporting brothers and sisters in other countries in their struggles against oppression.

The movement's globalization is Jamie Love's Naderite project, Doctors Without Borders, ACT/UP Philly and Oxfam getting AIDS drugs to Africans. Maybe Henwood needs to reread Vandana Shiva to understand what the struggle is really about. PHILIP L. BEREANO

49th Parallel Biotechnology Consortium

HENWOOD REPLIES

New York City

■ Most of the many letters I got on my article—an extract from a long book chapter, where the arguments are developed much more fully—seemed to be from readers more interested in rehearsing their own obsessions than reacting to what I wrote. I'm against privatization, commodification, tighter intellectual property restrictions and (believe it or not!) oppression. What these things have to do with "globalization" isn't clear to me. They've been characteristics of capitalism and imperialism for centuries, and that point must be made sharply, not blurred with the the near-meaningless word "globalization." And Bereano must be aware that there are many people in the "movement" who are powered by fantasies of reviving the nation-state or creating a world of self-sufficient localities, which strikes me as a suffocating and even xenophobic agenda. DOUG HENWOOD

THE EXILED HEART

Alamogordo, NM

■ Jay Parini's review of the new collection of Pablo Neruda's poetry ["A Poet of Multitudes," Dec. 22] reminds me that translation is betrayal (an axiom that sounds better in the original), that reading Neruda in English translation is like making love with a condom, or eating your pastrami sandwich with the plastic bag still on it. It is like trying to understand that which must be felt. Please read the original as it should be, out loud, as I have, at the Alamogordo Public Library poetry night, reading at full length, in the original, what you would call his "Letter From the Road," and not nearly reaching the end as my own exiled heart tore in two and the audience's as well. CHARLES J. SCANLON

(Continued on Page 20)

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IN THIS ISSUE

2 LETTERS

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 HOME TRUTHS

4 WHY I'M FOR CLARK
Barbara Lawton

5 NOT-SO-SPECIAL COUNSEL
David Corn

6 WE'RE NOT SORRY, CHARLIE
Jennifer Baumgardner

7 THE KITCHEN-TABLE STATE OF THE UNION
Robert L. Borosage

21 SECTARIANISM IN IRAQ
Dilip Hiro

22 BORDER JUSTICE
Marc Cooper

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
Herein Ralph Nader's Latest Rationale...
Calvin Trillin

9 SUBJECT TO DEBATE
Lost in Space
Katha Pollitt

10 STOP THE PRESSES
A Spectacular Success?
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

11 NAFTA AT 10
Where do we go from here?
Jeff Faux

13 THE VIEW FROM MEXICO
Bernie Sanders

14 "SOFT MULTILATERALISM"
You can't go home again.
Immanuel Wallerstein

BOOKS & THE ARTS

23 FOXMAN: Never Again? The Threat of the New Anti-Semitism
DERSHOWITZ: The Case for Israel
CHESLER: The New Anti-Semitism: The Current Crisis and What We Must Do About It
IGANSKI AND KOSMIN, EDS.: A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st Century Britain
Brian Klug

29 ART: John Currin
Arthur C. Danto

32 FILMS: Crimson Gold • Monster
Stuart Klawans

34 SHORT ODE TO SCREWBALL WOMEN (poem)
Rachel Wetzsteon

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EDITORIALS

Home Truths

The day after Democrats begin the process of selecting George W. Bush's challenger in what could be the most critical election of our time, the President will use his bully pulpit to present his well-spun version of the truth about America's political and economic health. The scheduling of Bush's fourth State of the Union address for the night after the Iowa caucuses serves as a reminder that every time a President addresses the nation in an election year, it's a campaign speech. The one safe bet is that the "facts" Bush presents this year will bear as little resemblance to reality as his assertion in last year's speech that "Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction."

Even as the death toll and the chaos in Iraq continue, so has the evidence that Bush's statement was not only untrue but known to be untrue. Its intended purpose, it appears now, was to justify an invasion that had nothing to do with pursuing the terrorists behind the 9/11 attacks. Former Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill told *Time* magazine, "In the 23 months I was there, I never saw anything that I would characterize as evidence of weapons of mass destruction." Yet, he noted, plans for ousting Saddam were well under way by early 2001. Ron Suskind, author of *The Price of Loyalty*, written with O'Neill's cooperation, described to CBS a Pentagon memo from early 2001 that outlined areas of oil exploration in post-Saddam Iraq. "It talks about contractors around the world from...thirty, forty countries and which ones have what intentions...on oil in Iraq," Suskind said.

Elsewhere, a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace study has concluded that "Administration officials systematically misrepresented the threat" posed by Iraq, and US Army War College academic Jeffrey Record wrote that the invasion of Iraq was "an unnecessary war of choice" that has "created a new front in the Middle East for Islamic terrorism and diverted attention and resources away from the security of the American homeland."

Bush is certain to be even less truthful when he starts talking about the economy. Last year at this time he was proposing further tax cuts, claiming that "jobs are created when the economy grows; the economy grows when Americans have more money to spend and invest." Now, however, with more than 3 million jobs lost since he came to office (see Robert L. Borosage, page 7), we know, thanks to O'Neill, that the Administration sought a new round of tax cuts not because they made sound economic sense but because, as Vice President Cheney said, "We won the midterms. This is our due." As for Bush's contributions on this and other matters, O'Neill describes Bush as so disengaged in Cabinet meetings that he "was like a blind man in a roomful of deaf people."

Unwittingly, O'Neill and Record have pinpointed the fundamental challenge for Democrats this year. The party's presidential nominee must not only note Bush's missteps but argue persuasively—and with passion—that Bush's fascination with pre-emptive war and tax cuts for the rich, and his lack of interest in job creation, healthcare reform and a real education agenda, have damaged the physical and economic security of America. Howard Dean gained front-runner status by saying as much, and other Democrats have begun to pick up the theme. Now, Democratic voters in Iowa, New Hampshire and beyond should keep an eye out for the candidate who best articulates a critique of the Bush presidency that will do what Paul O'Neill says is vital: To "cause people to stop and think about the current state of our political process and raise our expectations for what is possible."

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COMMENT

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Why I'm for Clark

By the end of June last year, I had met all the Democratic candidates for President. Each lent a unique, even critical facet to the debate; not one alone filled the frame with enough force to make me believe he or she could push Bush out of the picture. Nor did any one of them present the convincing stature of the leader we need to meet the challenges our country faces today. I decided to watch the winnowing process from the sidelines.

But decision-making by default and disengagement is not my style. From the perspective of state government, Bush can't leave office soon enough. The former governor has turned his back on us, limiting our policy options by starving the states, all the while shamelessly fattening government in Washington and giving fat tax cuts to his rich supporters.

So, while in Little Rock for the National Lieutenant Governors Association meeting this past July, I invited Wes Clark to lunch. I spent two hours pummeling him with questions.

Arguably a President's most important role is played out on the international scene. Clark towers over the other candidates here, already recognized and respected for his diplomatic credentials. He laid the groundwork for re-establishing strong relations with our allies as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander. He put his job on the line to stop the ethnic slaughter of Albanian Kosovars and did so without losing a single US soldier. He alone presents a smart, realistic exit strategy from Iraq.

I wanted to hear his vision for domestic governance. Because his candor in early interviews drew sharp questions about his legitimacy as a Democrat, I was checking for an internal consistency to his views. I came away impressed by his firm grasp of the issues we face, and by his commitment to strengthen this country from within. Clark, for example, doesn't talk about national security without talking about jobs.

There was an important subtext to my examination. I do not intend to contribute to the election of one more defensive, arrogant male. When I challenged and provoked and interrupted Clark, I closely watched the former general. His reaction was uniformly one of intellectual curiosity. The man is "scary" smart. And gracious, and respectful.

Clark comes to this contest unburdened by partisan baggage. But he stands firm on issues of importance to Democrats. He's pro-choice and pro–affirmative action; he believes in investing in public education and job creation. He'll enforce and strengthen our environmental laws. Clark is an intuitive Democrat.

Now, as we hurtle into the primary season and voters across the country sequentially suffer the cacophony of political ads and intraparty sniping, note that Clark is hoisting large ideas as the banner under which we may gather. Take two issues: healthcare and tax reform. His healthcare plan will extend insurance to 31.8 million more Americans and cover every child in America. He'll do all this by cutting costs, emphasizing preventive care and taking back the tax cuts Bush gave to taxpayers making more than $200,000 a year. And Clark's Families First Tax Reform plan eliminates federal income taxes for families of four earning $50,000 or less. His plan gives a $2,250 tax credit per child to every family earning

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under $100,000. It pays for tax cuts by closing corporate loopholes and raising the marginal rate on income over $1 million a year. It's about time someone stood up for the hardest pressed.

This first-time candidate is a quick study. And unlike most seasoned politicians, who huddle with pollsters and consultants before daring a decision or opinion, Clark follows his own compass. When he goes "off message," it's to integrate unwieldy but central concerns into the conversation. And when he's done, he's taken thorny issues like race or patriotism that often drive a wedge into communities and given us a way to think and speak about them as a people united.

That's why I believe he's the only declared Democrat who can campaign in the South and compete with the Republicans. As a Southerner himself, he understands the region as no other candidate does. When Clark travels from Virginia to Mississippi to the Florida panhandle, he frames his positions with the values that inform his vision for governance: hard work and individual responsibility, family, faith and patriotism. And the voters hear authenticity.

We hear it in the Midwest too, because he's a straight-talking, independent sort of guy who doesn't indulge in bombast. He is clearly of the middle class and understands our worries and our dreams. Clark is just the kind of leader we want at the helm. He has been endorsed by individuals and organizations ranging from Representative Charles Rangel, to "Father of Earth Day" Gaylord Nelson, to the *Native American Times*.

The stakes have never been higher. Whether we view this race through the lens of a state official looking for a partner in good government or of a once-valued foreign ally or of a struggling American family, we look for principled, confident leadership to make our country and our world more secure. As Clark's more tenured opponents lose their footing, or put their foot in their mouth, watch the campaign of the man determined to continue his service to his country. This progressive is betting that Democrats—and then a general-election majority—will choose him in the voting booth. BARBARA LAWTON

Barbara Lawton is Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin.

Not-So-Special Counsel

When is a special counsel not a special counsel?

When the Ashcroft Justice Department appoints one to investigate the White House.

On December 30 James Comey, the newly ensconced deputy attorney general, held a press conference to announce that Attorney General John Ashcroft had recused himself from the department's investigation of the Bush Administration leak that appeared in a Robert Novak column this past July identifying the wife of former ambassador Joseph Wilson, a critic of Bush's actions in Iraq, as a covert CIA officer. Comey also disclosed that he, filling in for Ashcroft, had selected Patrick Fitzgerald, the US Attorney in Chicago, as a "special counsel" to lead the probe.

It seemed as if the Justice Department was finally—after months of delay—bowing to requests from Democrats calling for an independent inquiry aimed at discovering who in the Administration blew Valerie Wilson's cover, possibly compromising national security. Not quite. In naming Fitzgerald a "special counsel," Comey violated (or disregarded) the department's own regulations. Those regulations state, "The Special Counsel shall be selected from outside the United States Government." Fitzgerald was a current Justice Department employee and thus ineligible to be a "special counsel." Comey could have chosen Fitzgerald to run the investigation without bestowing upon him the "special counsel" title. But the point was to create the impression that the Administration had taken action to guarantee that this sensitive investigation would be free of political manipulation.

Calling Fitzgerald a "special counsel" is false advertising. Moreover, a presidential appointee (Fitzgerald) remains in charge, and another presidential appointee (Comey) is overseeing his work. Fitzgerald does have a reputation for being relentless and independent. Still, he does not bring to the post the standing that would be afforded by a high-profile and accomplished attorney with no current ties to the Justice Department. "Jim Comey and Pat Fitzgerald are close friends," says a former US Attorney. "I highly respect them both. But I can't imagine Pat doing something Jim wouldn't want. This is different from having the investigation led by somebody not beholden to the department."

Structural changes aside, it's hard to get a fix on whether the gumshoes are making headway. This criminal investigation is being conducted, as is routine, confidentially. There have been few leaks about the investigators' progress—or lack thereof. The *Washington Post* reported that probers have conducted more than thirty interviews with Bush officials and were planning to ask White House aides to sign waivers that would release journalists—such as Robert Novak—from pledges of confidentiality. (Novak and other reporters would probably still be unwilling to ID the culprits.) And the White House has wisely done little to keep the story alive. There are no public indications Bush aides have rushed to hire attorneys.

Leak investigations are notoriously difficult to prosecute. To make a case, Fitzgerald's crew will have to prove that a specific official had a specific conversation with Novak and intentionally divulged Valerie Wilson's undercover CIA affiliation. But more is involved than the original leak. There's already public evidence that right after the leak occurred, the White House attempted to exploit it by encouraging other reporters to play up the Valerie Wilson connection. This might not have been illegal, but it would have been a thuggish act. Criminal investigators, though, might legitimately be able to avoid pursuing this part of the story.

This is where the Democrats come in—or not. They should be demanding a Congressional inquiry into the leak that would also focus on White House actions after the leak. Not that the Republicans in charge of Congress will react kindly to such a request. But Senator Jay Rockefeller, the ranking Democrat on the intelligence committee, has so far seemed uninterested in this line of inquiry. The Democrats also ought to be pushing Justice to release a report detailing the investigation should no charges be filed. At the end of the probe, Fitzgerald—if he is acting as a special counsel—must send the Attorney General a confidential report explaining his prosecution or his reasons for not filing charges. The depart-

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COMMENT

ment is not obligated to release this report. But special counsels have put out final reports in the past. In 2000 special counsel John Danforth, a former Republican senator appointed to examine the 1993 Waco disaster, issued a report criticizing FBI agents and Justice Department lawyers. "He had plenty to say about matters that did not rise to the level of prosecution," says a former senior Justice Department official. "And he made damn sure it got out publicly. As an outsider and heavyweight person, Danforth had enough leverage to say to the Attorney General, make as much of this public as possible or you're going to have a worse problem when I say I am being gagged. Fitzgerald cannot play that card."

The latest developments signal that Justice is disinclined to do more than the minimum unless it is pressed from the outside. Both the leaker(s) and the investigators must be squeezed.

DAVID CORN

We're Not Sorry, Charlie

Last January 22, the thirtieth anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, Patricia Beninato was annoyed. It seemed that every time she turned on the news, anti-choicers were yelling about babies being slaughtered or erroneously claiming that women who have abortions are destined for clinical depression. "I had an abortion," thought Beninato, a 37-year-old customer-service rep in Richmond, Virginia, "and I'm glad I did. Someone should put up a website for women who had abortions and don't regret it." She happened to be between jobs, so Beninato decided she would be that someone. Thus, www.imnotsorry.net was founded—and has since gathered more than 100 stories.

When she researched what was already out there before launching the site, Beninato found only anti-choice counseling outfits like afterabortion.com and Rachel's Vineyard ministry, which offer misleading medical information and propaganda from women who describe being coerced into abortion by controlling older boyfriends and Planned Parenthood "salespeople." Indeed, the real voices of women who have had abortions are hard to find, despite the fact that there are more than a million abortions a year, and many millions of American women who have had one or more. Because it's a private moment, often a sad and stressful moment, the sheer mass of women who have had abortions and are glad is invisible. Even closeted.

The media bear this out—while there is no shortage of pro-choice activists making demands for preserving safe legal abortion, hardly any coverage features women who are "out" about having had an abortion. Women are perhaps even quieter than they were pre-*Roe*, when at least a few hundred feminists held speak-outs and signed public petitions about their illegal abortions. Meanwhile, the Texas Justice Foundation, an anti-choice group dedicated to protecting women from the "tragedy of abortion" and the "physical, emotional and spiritual damage" it invariably causes, has been collecting affidavits from women who regret their abortions. Earlier this year, Norma McCorvey, the plaintiff in *Roe*, whose change of heart has made her the darling of the anti-choice crowd, included the affidavits when she filed a petition in court to have *Roe* overturned.

Her petition was rejected, but the PR strategy behind it should not go unanswered: It's time to tap into the well of women who have had abortions and don't regret it. Moved by Beninato's phrase, I have been working on a campaign to recast the *Roe* anniversary, January 22, as I'm Not Sorry Day. The campaign consists of three elements: a film directed by Gillian Aldrich documenting women's experiences with abortion, T-shirts that read I HAD AN ABORTION and a postcard that lists such resources as unbiased post-abortion counseling and the National Network of Abortion Funds. The message of the day is that women might have complex, or even painful, experiences with abortion, but they are still confident they made the right decision and adamant that it had to be their decision to make.

The response has been amazing. In an effort to think of people I could hit up whom I hadn't already tapped out, I wrote letters to my mother's friends in Fargo, North Dakota. Within days, half the women had responded with long letters, some criticisms and plenty of checks. An e-mail that feminists Rosalyn Baxandall (who participated in the original 1969 speak-out) and Katha Pollitt sent to friends raised nearly all the money I needed to get the film going in less than two weeks. A mention of the project in Katha's "Subject to Debate" column elicited forty-eight incredible abortion stories from women around the country. The Third Wave Foundation agreed to fund the T-shirts, and women from Philadelphia, St. Paul and Columbus, Ohio, offered to buy and distribute the shirts.

The January 22 event will also serve to garner support for the March for Women's Lives in Washington, DC, on April 25. Originally called Save Women's Lives: March for Freedom of Choice, the name was changed to reflect a broadened coalition of co-sponsors, including Black Women's Health Imperative, and an agenda that expands beyond "choice" to address the problem of limited access to reproductive healthcare, especially among poor, young and minority women. As we gear up for another election cycle, it's crucial to understand abortion rights in terms of women's most basic ability to live in freedom—or even to live, period. After all, legalizing abortion immediately ended once-

(Continued on Page 21)

CALVIN TRILLIN

HEREIN RALPH NADER'S LATEST RATIONALE FOR ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL RUN IS EXPLAINED WITHOUT THE USE OF THE WORD 'COCKAMAMIE'

It's easy to forget, but still true
That creepy guys have ego trips too.

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COMMENT

The Kitchen-Table State of the Union

by Robert L. Borosage

With the stock market surging and the economy growing, George W. Bush has begun touting the success of his tax cuts. In his State of the Union address on January 20, Bush will no doubt argue that we're on the right track and need to stay the course. But for most Americans the rosy statistics don't reflect *their* reality. When they talk at night after the kids have gone to bed, they worry that things are getting worse, not better. And in case after case, the President's policies are part of the problem, not part of the solution. Consider the State of the Union as it looks not from the White House or Wall Street, but from America's kitchen tables.

Jobs. Jobs are scarce and increasingly insecure. The new jobs that laid-off workers are getting generally don't have the pay or benefits of the ones they lost. Despite the much-advertised economic recovery, Bush will have the worst jobs record of any President since the Great Depression. In addition to the hemorrhaging of manufacturing jobs, high-tech and service jobs are headed overseas too. Bush has not only pushed for more of the same trade accords that helped get us into this hole, but he has failed to address China's mercantilist trade and currency policies, which have led to a staggering $100 billion US trade deficit. Much of the corporate investment that came from the wealthy benefiting from Bush's tax cuts went abroad, not here. Bush's policies are generating more jobs in Shanghai than in Saginaw.

Wages. Wage growth is the slowest in forty years. Homelessness is up, and more working people are in poverty. But the Bush Administration not only effectively opposes any increase in the minimum wage, it pushed regulations that will strip millions of workers of overtime pay, despite the opposition of many Democrats and some Republicans in Congress.

Healthcare. Healthcare costs are soaring, with businesses forcing workers to pick up more of the tab or dropping coverage altogether. Americans now pay the highest prescription drug prices in the world. Yet Bush not only did nothing to bring the costs of HMOs and insurance companies under control, he pushed through a prescription drug bill that prohibits Medicare from negotiating a better price for seniors. To add insult to injury, the bill outlaws buying cheaper drugs from Canada. Bush turned a $400 billion benefit for the elderly into a $400 billion subsidy to the drug companies.

Schools. The largest number of children ever entered our public schools this past fall. But schools across the country are being forced to cut back, laying off teachers, doubling up classes, putting off needed construction. Bush not only broke his promise on funding his school reforms, but, with the states facing the worst fiscal crisis in fifty years, he also opposed state aid that would protect schools from debilitating cuts. Then he zeroed out funding for school construction in the federal budget.

College Costs. Tuition at four-year public colleges is going up nearly 15 percent a year. Federal grants for deserving students haven't kept up. The maximum Pell grant now covers 39 percent of public college tuition, down from 84 percent in 1975–76. Students graduate with 35 percent more debt than a decade ago. More and more are priced out of four-year colleges altogether. Bush broke his campaign promise to raise the maximum grant; under his new budget, grant levels will fall even further behind costs.

Retirement Security. Many older workers saw their retirement dreams shattered when the stock market collapsed. Only one in five employees in the private sector has a defined-benefit pension at work. And the Enron scandal showed how corporate executives were abusing worker savings accounts. But Bush now wants to privatize Social Security, which would almost certainly lead to cuts in benefits. And his post-Enron pension "reform" legislation would make it legal for corporations to provide pensions for the few on the top floor and reduce the number covered on the shop floor.

Safe Food. Parents sensibly worry about what their children are eating, as more of our food is imported and less of it is inspected. Food-borne diseases have caused some 228 million illnesses and more than 15,000 deaths since Bush took office. And now there's a mad cow threat. Yet Bush and the Republican Congress blocked legislation to impose stronger penalties for food-safety violations and opposed measures that would have made it easier to trace the source of contaminated meat.

Safe Workplaces. More than 4.7 million workers were injured or became ill on the job in 2002. Violations of workplace safety laws have grown as companies seek to cut costs. Federal inspectors are unable to keep up. But Bush has tried every year to cut the Occupational Safety and Health Administration budget, which currently allows for inspections of only 5 percent of workplaces.

Personal Debt. Personal debt is at record heights, as are personal bankruptcies. Credit card companies continue to impose obscene interest and penalty charges, yet Bush and the GOP leadership in Congress blocked efforts to provide consumers with clear warning about credit card charges and pushed to make it easier to collect against families forced into bankruptcy.

National Security. Since 9/11, Americans can't help worrying about terrorist threats. Even here Bush has fallen short. The EPA reports that there are 123 plants where release of chemicals would threaten more than 1 million people. Yet after the oil and chemical lobby mobilized against it, Bush opposed legislation to create minimum standards for security and hazard reduction in such plants.

The list could go on, but the point is clear. Bush's boasting about his economic program may simply indicate that he is out of touch with the reality that most Americans face. But the reason his policies are making things worse is that they are designed to serve the wealthy and the corporate lobbies that pay for his party. And that means rewarding the few and leaving the many to pay the price.

This is beginning to sink in. With the capture of Saddam Hussein and the revival of economic growth, Bush's job-approval ratings have bounced back. But what pollsters call his "re-elect numbers"—the number of Americans who say they would vote to re-elect him—remain low. Americans are notoriously inattentive to national politics and sensibly cynical about politicians. But they know that although champagne corks may be popping in the boardrooms, there is little to celebrate around the kitchen table.

Robert L. Borosage is co-director of Campaign for America's Future.

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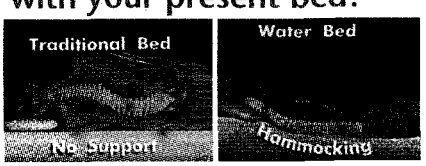
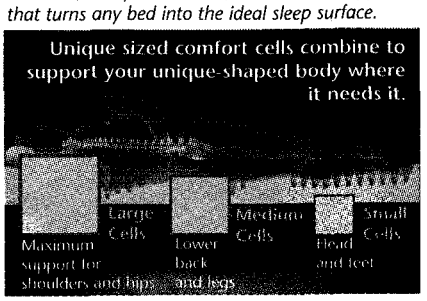


The ideal position is a neutral body posture in which the different parts of the human body are supported individually and evenly. This is the secret behind Memory Foam Ultra, the mattress topper that turns any bed into the ideal sleep surface.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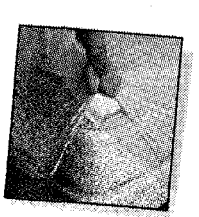

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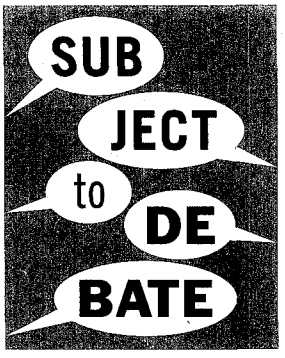
KATHA POLLITT

Lost in Space



A while back, in a column calling for more arts funding, I observed that a lot more people are interested in classical music, ballet, theater and museums than are interested in space exploration, so the NEA should get at least as much money as NASA. Who cares, I blithely asked, what color rocks Mars has? Lots of *Nation* readers, as it turned out, and a number of staffers too. I had no idea. Now that George W. Bush is proposing to establish a long-term base on the moon as early as 2015 and eventually to send humans to Mars, I won't repeat the mistake of assuming that everyone shares my lack of enthusiasm for astronautery and outer space. According to a somewhat confusing AP-Ipsos poll, 48 percent (disproportionately men, but you knew that) favor Bush's proposals for space exploration and 48 percent oppose it, although only 38 percent support sending people, which the proposal involves (57 percent prefer using robots). Fifty-five percent oppose it when given the option of spending the money on education and healthcare, and two-thirds of Democrats oppose it when it is identified as a "Bush Administration" plan. But let's not quibble—space is probably fascinating once you get into it, like Wagner or *The Lord of the Rings* or football. Someday, it might even be interesting to know if there was ever life on Mars—although it would also be interesting to know who put those statues on Easter Island, or why so often you can tell who's calling by the way the telephone rings.

Life is full of mysteries, I'm trying to say, and space is such an expensive one! Estimates of Bush's proposals run into the hundreds of billions of dollars over the next several decades. If you care about the deficit, as conservatives claimed they did until Bush created a huge one through tax cuts for the rich, it's hard to justify. Even if the immediate amount turns out to be much smaller—Bush has proposed only $1 billion in new funding over the next five years, leaving the big bills for his successor—does it really makes sense to spend a significant sum to satisfy an idle curiosity when we can spend the money solving some other, equally daunting scientific challenge that would actually make people happier, healthier and better able to fulfill their capabilities in their brief time on earth? I'm all for boldly going forth and expressing the human spirit—why can't we do that by solving the enormous scientific and technological challenges posed by global warming? Because that would involve admitting that global warming is happening? and is caused by human activity? In the January 13 *New York Times* Science section, the front page that carried Kenneth Chang's article championing the idea of a moon base also carried an ominous article detailing rising temperatures in the Alaskan tundra, which is now frozen for only 100 days a year; thirty years ago it was 200. Of the photographs in that section, which ones represent a phenomenon that is more likely to affect humanity first: the grim ones comparing the robust summer polar ice cap of 1979 with its moth-eaten 2003 self, or the lovely ones of planets and nebulae and galaxies illustrating the story on mapping the cosmos? Space isn't going anywhere—we can always study it later. Earth, however, may be going down the tubes a lot faster than we imagine. Those billions would fund a lot of environment-friendly innovation.

As for science—fighting AIDS is science. "We can put a cowboy on Mars," quips my colleague Richard Kim, "or we can treat everyone on the planet with AIDS for the next generation. Three hundred billion dollars would pay for AIDS drugs at the generic prices cited in Bush's State of the Union address ($300 per year, per person) for all 40 million people with HIV for the next twenty-five years." Reproductive health is science. According to the January *Lancet*, half a million women die every year from pregnancy-related causes, 99 percent of them in underdeveloped countries; it's one of the most neglected health problems in the world today. Delivering quality care adapted to the circumstances of impoverished and often illiterate people living in isolated villages and farms, training a local healthcare force and paying it enough to stay put instead of fleeing to jobs in wealthier places, insuring women the human rights that undergird safe maternity, whether freedom from forced child marriage or access to family planning—that seems to me as urgent as setting up house on the moon.

Education is science—you could fund a lot of schools in poor countries, where 43 percent of boys and 48 percent of girls aren't even getting a primary education; you could buy a lot of books and maps and lab equipment and train a lot of teachers and create, in the next generation, a lot more scientists—let *them* go to the moon! We say we're so upset about the spread of Islamic fundamentalism—yet we stand by while rich Saudis set up Wahhabi madrassahs all over the Muslim world and invite poor parents to send their kids for free. These youngsters could be learning astronomy instead of memorizing the Koran. We could put our Mars money where our mouth is.

I actually believe in science. I believe we are clever enough to think our way out of the problems we make for ourselves. We need to think big—on contraception, medicine, pollution, energy, food, water. Indeed, one of the worst aspects of the Bush Administration is its contempt for science. Thanks to Bush, creationist tracts are being sold in national parks—did you know that the Grand Canyon is only a few thousand years old, like the rest of the world? And faith healers like David Hager, who thinks Jesus will cure your PMS, sit on FDA advisory panels. Bush policies disregard serious research—on the effectiveness of condoms to prevent HIV, on the ineffectiveness of abstinence-only sex education—and shun the promise of stem cell research, all in obedience to the crabbed sexual taboos of the right.

Besides, doesn't the moon belong to everyone, not just NASA, not just the United States? Must lovers and lonely people from Newfoundland to Bangladesh look up at night and think: There's the moon, round and silvery and full of Republicans? ■

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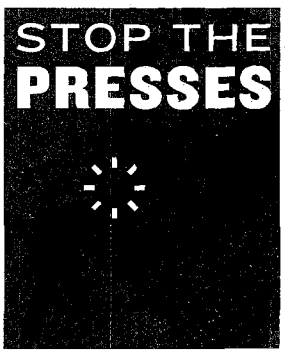
ERIC ALTERMAN

A Spectacular Success?



On the tenth anniversary of the NAFTA accord, mainstream media accounts have voiced muted disappointment with its relatively meager effects. Virtually none of the benefits touted by the treaty's many boosters a decade ago have come into being, while a number of disturbing developments have emerged. A Carnegie Endowment study found that while the accord generated nothing like the number of expected jobs in Mexico, it devastated hundreds of thousands of subsistence farmers there without having much impact on jobs here at home. With America's decision to support China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001, China quickly replaced Mexico as the favored destination for multinationals looking for cheap labor. In the past three years, Mexico has lost nearly half a million manufacturing jobs, while untold damage has been done to democracy throughout the continent, thanks to the many provisions of the treaty that allow corporations to circumvent local laws.

While the conservative *Washington Post* editorial page editors insist that "NAFTA is too small a factor in U.S. economic performance to make its effects accurately measurable," their soul brothers at the *Wall Street Journal* mock any criticism of the treaty's "spectacular success" as "protectionist bellyaching." The fact is, it was never NAFTA's direct effects that made it so attractive to corporate America. It was the leverage it gave so many corporations over their workers (though not, let's note, workers who happen to be journalists). Under a NAFTA-like regime, corporations are able to employ the threat of crossing the border to face down demands for better pay or better conditions. Indeed, between 1993 and 1995, more than 50 percent of employers contending with union organizing drives made threats to close all or part of their US plants, with the highest threat rates in mobile industries, according to a study by Cornell University's Kate Bronfenbrenner. So from their own screw-the-workers perspective, *Journal* editors are dead right: The treaty has returned its investment many times over—at least for the folks who paid to get it passed.

The initial debate began, according to a Times Mirror poll, with "public and elite opinion at loggerheads." While elites were unified in favor of the accord, the public, according to the poll, was "largely skeptical and disengaged from the debate." As late as July 1993, 49 percent of those Americans surveyed said they were not sure they had ever heard of the proposed deal.

Elite media opinion was virtually unanimous in favor of the treaty. This was perhaps a reflection of the socioeconomic situation of Washington journalists. No longer working-class heroes, they tended to view politics from the same perspective as that of the political class. US workers, who would now be forced to bargain for their wages and working conditions against their counterparts in Mexico—who earned a fraction of what they did and lacked health, environmental and legal protections—had provided the electoral base for President Clinton's victory. Yet the betrayal of their interests implicit in Clinton's devotion to NAFTA seemed too tawdry an issue to even bring up. The question was not one of internal political conflict, *New York Times* editors insisted, but "America's appetite for global leadership after the Cold War." The *Los Angeles Times* declared a pro-NAFTA vote to be "a vote for American foreign policy continuity." The *Washington Post* called the vote "a historic test of American intentions toward the rest of the world." Senator Byron Dorgan noted in 1993 that the *Post* had published sixty-three feet of pro-NAFTA editorials and columns between January and November, compared with only eleven feet of anti-NAFTA commentary on its op-ed page. Also in 1993, between April and July one organization tallied up forty-eight op-eds in favor of NAFTA and just eight against. News coverage was similarly skewed. Seventy-one percent of expert sources quoted in the *Post* were pro-NAFTA, and only 17 percent opposed. The *New York Times* followed with 66 percent pro-treaty quotes and only 24 percent for opponents. Even a top Administration official, whose job it was to sell the treaty to Congress and the public, said he could not remember a single issue on which the media coverage had been so biased in favor of the Administration's position. Pundit Mark Shields remarked at the time, "It's an act of courage to support NAFTA, but if you're against NAFTA, you're voting your fears and obviously bowing to pressure from organized labor."

Meanwhile, the expected benefits of NAFTA—that it would improve intra-American relations and reduce Mexican resentment toward the colossus of the North—have been more than offset by the costs of other US actions. As Joseph Stiglitz (who was part of the Administration that signed the treaty) has noted, the United States squandered any good will it might have earned by imposing barriers on Mexican products that began to make inroads into US markets, "from tomatoes to avocados to trucks to brooms." California has recently undertaken efforts to prevent illegal immigrants from getting driver's licenses and medical care. And the Bush Administration made clear, in the most petulant manner possible, that its obsession with Iraq trumped all other issues with its once crucial neighbor. In fall 2002 at a summit in Los Cabos, Mexico, Bush grew snippy with Mexican President Vicente Fox, who was withholding support for plans to invade Iraq. At the joint press conference, Bush "glowered during Fox's windup and looked annoyed at the unruliness of the camera crews," according to a *Washington Post* report. "The last straw was when a cell phone went off, which infuriates Bush.... In a breach of protocol, Bush cut off the translator before Fox's answers could be rendered in English" and walked away.

Bush and Fox were making nice at the recent Summit of the Americas in Monterrey, Mexico, about Fox's immigration policy pretenses, with "free trade" issues pushed to the backest of burners. And no wonder. Brazil's President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was demanding action on an unconscionable $20 billion in annual US subsidies to wealthy agribusiness interests that starve the world's poor while they put money in the pockets of campaign donors. Bush's response? *"Hasta la vista,* baby." ■

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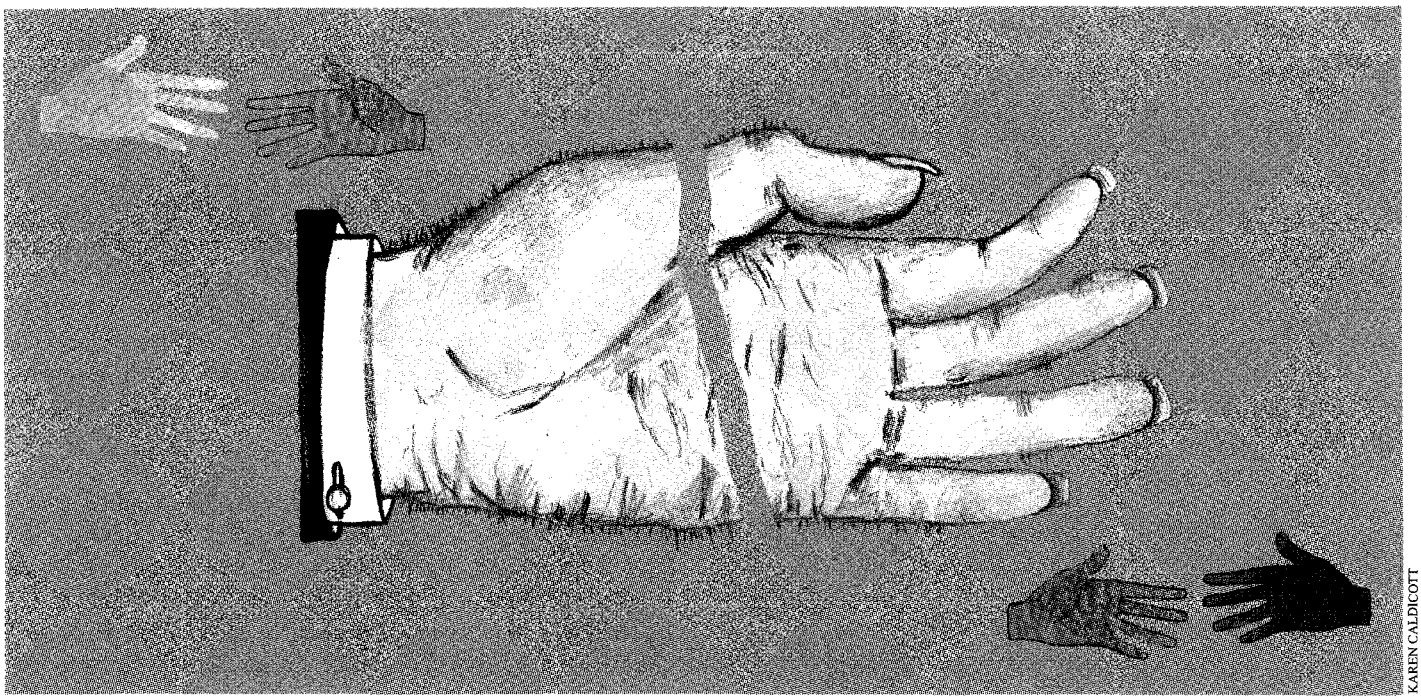
ARTICLES



KAREN CALDICOTT

NAFTA at 10:
Where Do We Go From Here?

by JEFF FAUX

Ten years ago, the North American Free Trade Agreement was sold to the people of the United States, Mexico and Canada as a simple treaty eliminating tariffs on goods crossing the three countries' borders. But NAFTA is much more: It is the constitution of an emerging continental economy that recognizes one citizen—the business corporation. It gives corporations extraordinary protections from government policies that might limit future profits, and extraordinary rights to force the privatization of virtually all civilian public services. Disputes are settled by secret tribunals of experts, many of whom are employed privately as corporate lawyers and consultants. At the same time, NAFTA excludes protections for workers, the environment and the public that are part of the social contract established through long political struggle in each of the countries.

As Jorge Castañeda, Mexico's recent foreign secretary, observed, NAFTA was "an accord among magnates and potentates: an agreement for the rich and powerful…effectively excluding ordinary people in all three societies." Thus was NAFTA a model for the neoliberal governance of the global economy.

The business-backed politicians who pushed the agreement through the three legislatures promised that NAFTA would generate prosperity that would more than compensate "ordinary" people for its lack of social protections. Foreign investors would make Mexico an economic tiger, turning its poor workers into middle-class consumers who would then buy US and Canadian goods, creating more jobs in the high-wage countries.

But as soon as the ink was dry on NAFTA, US factories began to shift production to maquiladora factories along the border, where the Mexican government assures a docile labor force and virtually no environmental restrictions. The US trade surplus with Mexico quickly turned into a deficit, and since then at least a half-million jobs have been lost, many of them in small towns and rural areas where there are no job alternatives.

Meanwhile, Mexico's overall growth rate has been half of what it needs to be just to generate enough jobs for its growing labor force. The NAFTA-inspired strategy of export-led growth undermined Mexican industries that sold to the domestic market as well as the sixty-year-old social bargain in which workers and peasant farmers shared the benefits of growth in exchange for their support for a privileged oligarchy. NAFTA provided the oligarchs with new partners—the multinational corporations—allowing them to abandon their obligations to their fellow Mexicans. Average real wages in Mexican manufacturing are actually lower than they were ten years ago. Two and a half million farmers and their families have been driven out of their local markets and off their land by heavily subsidized US and Canadian agribusiness. For most Mexicans, half of whom live in poverty, basic food has gotten even more expensive: Today the Mexican minimum wage buys less than half the tortillas it bought in 1994. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans continue to risk their lives crossing the

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border to get low-wage jobs in the United States.

Canada, which since 1989 has had a similar trade agreement with the United States, and which does much less business with Mexico, was less directly affected. But NAFTA strengthened Canadian corporations' ability to threaten workers and governments with moving south, helping undermine the country's traditionally strong labor and social standards.

In all three countries NAFTA has worsened the distribution of income and wealth. While ordinary people paid the costs, the benefits went to the continent's "rich and powerful." Canadian and US corporate investors got guaranteed access to Mexico's cheap labor as well as its privatized public assets. Mexican elites brokered the deals. In one example, well-connected Mexicans bought the country's second-largest commercial bank from the government for $3.3 billion and sold it to Citigroup for $12.5 billion.

Yet despite its failures, NAFTA set in motion the economic integration of Canada, Mexico and the United States, which cannot now be stopped. Every day, more intracontinental connections in finance, marketing, production and other business networks are being hard-wired for a consolidated North American market. Ford pickup trucks are assembled in Mexico with engines from Ontario and transmissions from Ohio and Michigan. Canadian, Mexican and US investors have created a labyrinth of interconnected corporate assets. After a temporary post-9/11 slowdown, the cross-border movement of people—unskilled workers, educated professionals, retirees—continued.

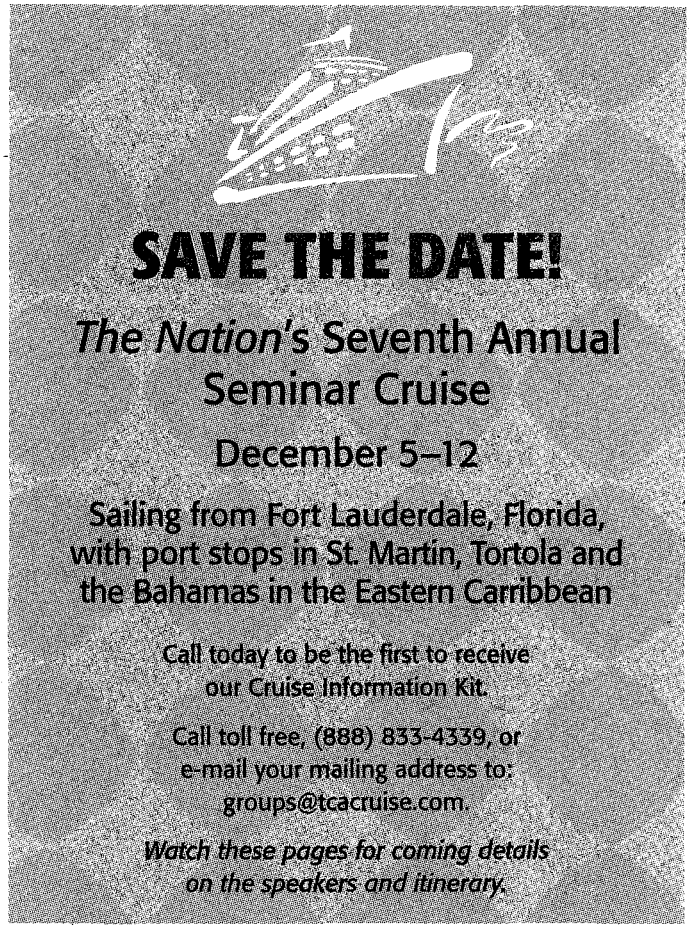
Expanded markets require expanded rules. Out of public sight, the rulebooks are being filled in by NAFTA tribunals, trigovernmental commissions, administrative judges. Business-supported academic centers are humming with new proposals, ranging from guestworker programs, to the privatization of Canadian water and Mexican oil, to continental business tax policies. As a former Canadian ambassador to the United States recently commented, "Few days go by without new ideas for deepening NAFTA."

But while corporate business and its political clients are organized continentally, progressives are not. One reason is that the opposition to NAFTA in all three countries was in large part rooted in economic and political nationalism. The political heat that almost defeated the agreement in the US Congress was fueled by the specter of American jobs moving to Mexico. The Canadian opposition painted NAFTA as a threat to Americanize Canadian culture. In Mexico, opposition was rooted in its people's historic mistrust of Yankee imperialism.

Once the fight over NAFTA was settled, opposition groups moved back to domestic issues or moved on to defend against neoliberalism in other global settings, such as the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas and the new round of World Trade Organization negotiations. These are important battles, but the capacity of North American activists to influence these negotiations is marginal. For example, if the FTAA is permanently derailed, it will not be over a lack of social protections but because Latin American and US business interests cannot make a deal.

Back home, however, North American opponents of neolib-

Jeff Faux was the founding president, and is now distinguished fellow, of the Economic Policy Institute. He is writing a book on the future of North America's political economy.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The View From Mexico

This past November, along with six other members of the US Congress, I visited Mexico on a Teamsters-sponsored trip in order to assess what NAFTA has done to Mexico. What we saw and heard was not pretty. We encountered horrendous poverty, environmental degradation and a lawless and corrupt environment. We talked with mothers who couldn't afford to send their kids to school, workers who were fired for the crime of trying to organize a union and religious workers who were trying to protect young women from the murders and rapes that were taking place in Ciudad Juárez, right across the border from El Paso. We also met people who displayed enormous courage and tenacity.

In the Anapra *colonia* of Juárez we visited the dilapidated shack of a young mother: one light bulb, a dirt floor and no healthcare available for her sick child. Not an uncommon situation for that community, where tens of thousands of Mexicans had migrated from the southern and even poorer part of the country in search of a better life. As these people flooded into the Juárez area in search of maquiladora jobs, the infrastructure crumbled and the already low quality of life deteriorated. At a health clinic in the area we were told that many of the illnesses they dealt with resulted from malnutrition and other dietary problems.

In a nearby home another mother feared for the well-being of her older daughter, who traveled an hour and a half to work in a maquiladora factory—where she earned $35 a week. (Maquiladoras mostly hire women because they think they will be less likely to fight back against poor wages and working conditions.) Would she make it home safely or become another "disappeared" woman whose body would be found in the desert? In talking to law enforcement officials in Texas we were told that police and governmental corruption were rampant in Juárez. At least one high-ranking US law enforcement official told us that he would not go south of the border for fear that he might be killed.

In the city of Puebla we met with textile workers at one maquila who made blue jeans for export to the United States. They had the radical idea that they should have minimal rights on the job and be compensated when they worked overtime. They also wanted protection against chemicals that colored their hands and hair. When they attempted to form an independent union to negotiate for them, they were fired. (In Mexico, almost all union workers are represented by "official" unions, which are authorized by the government and sponsored by the companies. They do nothing to represent the interests of workers.) In Puebla we also met with the leader of one of the few independent unions in the country, José Luis Rodríguez Salazar, secretary general of the Independent Union of Volkswagen Workers. His union, under very difficult circumstances, has managed to negotiate a contract with VW that pays most workers there $25 a day—a very good wage in Mexico. They are currently struggling against downsizing and fear that in years to come, globalization could mean a reduction of auto manufacturing in Mexico as companies move to countries with even cheaper labor.

In the countryside, we met farmers whose communities had been devastated by the importation of subsidized, cheap corn from US agribusiness corporations. Since the implementation of NAFTA, Mexico's agricultural sector has lost at least 1.3 million jobs. In the community that we visited there are almost no young workers left on the farms. Most of them are either in the cities or in the United States illegally. In an attempt to get a decent price for their corn, some of the farmers have created a cooperative business in which local corn is made into tortillas and sold in the cities. While they were cautiously optimistic about this new enterprise, they were distressed by the destruction of a way of life that their families had experienced for hundreds of years.

In the US Congress, a funny thing is happening with regard to trade policy. With NAFTA resulting in the loss of almost 900,000 decent-paying American manufacturing jobs, more and more members, Republicans and Democrats, are finding it harder and harder to defend unfettered free trade. I know of a number of members who voted for NAFTA who now see that vote as a mistake. I know of no member who voted against NAFTA who regrets that vote. Interestingly, since I recently introduced legislation to repeal Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) with China, fifteen conservative Republicans have joined forty-two Democrats as co-sponsors.

The immediate task in Congress is threefold. First, we need to place a moratorium on the passage of all new free-trade legislation that the President is negotiating. Why should we exacerbate an already bad situation? No Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), no trade agreement with Australia, no Central American agreement (CAFTA), no bilateral agreements with individual countries. Second, we must move to terminate those trade agreements that currently exist and that are causing us huge job losses—such as NAFTA and PNTR with China. Third, we need a national conversation and appropriate legislation to create trade policy that works for the average American as well as our trading partners throughout the world.

The word is getting out and the momentum is building. Unfettered free trade has been a disaster not only for Americans but for the working people of Mexico and Canada as well. Our difficult but important job now is to build a new coalition of trade unionists, environmentalists, small-business owners and manufacturers who put the people in their communities ahead of corporate America's reckless search for profits. Included in that coalition must be white-collar and high-tech workers who are also seeing their jobs move to low-wage countries.

If we join together we can create trade policies that expand the middle class in this country, protect the international environment and improve the lives of poor people in developing countries. Together, we can and must end the disastrous race to the bottom that we are currently experiencing.

BERNIE SANDERS

Bernie Sanders is an Independent US Representative from Vermont. For more information go to www.bernie.house.gov.

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eralism—because they can be a force in the domestic politics of all three nations—have more leverage to develop a socially responsive model of economic integration between rich and poor economies. Indeed, given the influence of the United States in setting the rules for the global economy, a visible, sustained challenge to the NAFTA model here may be the most important contribution progressives on this continent can make to the building of a more just global economic system.

A continental progressive movement would build on its existing infrastructure in each nation—labor, environmentalists, human rights activists, progressive churches and populist legislators—and the fact that the majority of ordinary citizens in all three nations want a market system with social protections.

One initial organizing step might be to connect existing demands to rewrite NAFTA. For example, over the past year Mexican farmers demonstrated throughout the country—including breaking down the door to the Mexican Congress—demanding that NAFTA's agricultural provisions be changed. Had US and Canadian small farmers, labor unions and environmentalists joined them with their own demands, the Mexican government would not have been able to isolate the farmers with the argument that changing NAFTA is politically impossible.

A new continental agreement could include financial assistance from the United States and Canada to Mexico for building the economic and social infrastructure it needs for growth, just as the European community has redistributed funds to its poorest members in order to create a stronger and more balanced economy. Continentwide enforceable labor, human rights and environmental protections ought to be established to prevent the erosion of living standards in Canada and the United States, and to insure that Mexican workers share in the benefits of rising productivity. Provisions of NAFTA that erode the ability of the local public sectors in all three countries to promote the welfare of their citizens should be stricken.

Progressive legislators in all three countries could begin working out proposals covering issues such as corporate governance, public health and safety, and investment in education that could be simultaneously introduced in all three capitals. A continental labor organizing campaign against a single employer could have an electrifying effect—demonstrating that workers in Canada, Mexico and the United States have more in common with one another than with the CEOs who may share their formal nationality.

Creating a continental political consciousness does not mean forming one nation. Few are ready for that—particularly the majority of Mexicans and Canadians appalled by the US governing class's current imperial obsessions. But despite all the obvious difficulties, if progressives do not want to see a continental society built on NAFTA's reactionary template, they have little choice but to grasp hands across the borders and work together to build an economy that serves the continent's "ordinary" people. ■

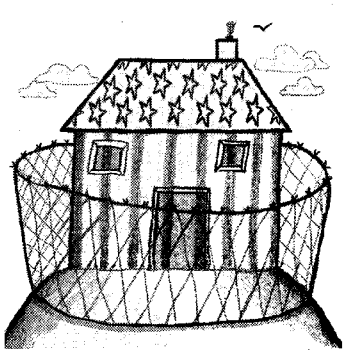
The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) is the latest effort by the Bush Administration to extend NAFTA southward. Read Mark Engler's analysis at www.thenation.com.

YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN.

'Soft Multilateralism'

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN

The hawks around George W. Bush believed the United States had been in a slow decline for at least thirty years. Their remedy called for the United States to flex its considerable military muscle, abandon all pretense of multilateral consultations with hesitant and weak allies, and proceed to intimidate both friends and enemies alike. Then it would be in the world driver's seat again. Instead, Iraq is a growing drain of lives and money, traditional allies are profoundly estranged, national security is more precarious than ever and economic power continues to erode. In short, the hawks have achieved the opposite of everything they intended on the world scene, except toppling Saddam Hussein.



KAREN CALDICOTT

Democratic presidential candidates and even Republican moderates are now calling for a return to the multilateralist foreign policy of previous administrations. They want to bring back the golden era of Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft and Madeleine Albright. Is this a plausible alternative?

For the past thirty years, every administration, from Nixon to Clinton, including Reagan and Bush's father, pursued the same basic strategy, a policy I call "soft multilateralism." This policy had three elements: (1) offer our major allies "partnership"; (2) push hard to persuade potential nuclear powers not to "proliferate"; (3) persuade governments of the South that their economic future lay not in state-managed "development" but in export-oriented "globalization." None of these policies were entirely successful, but each was at least partially so.

Let's look at each of the three elements. First, when the United States found it was no longer economically dominant but had become merely one part of a so-called triad (the United States, Western Europe and Japan/East Asia), each more or less competi-

Immanuel Wallerstein, Senior Research Scholar at Yale University, is the author, most recently, of The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World *(New Press).*

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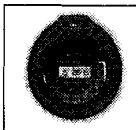

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tive with the others, it had to change the way it handled these allies. Instead of treating them as subordinates it sought their collaboration as "partners." The real object was to slow down any and all emerging ideas that would permit political independence (such as, for example, creating a European army outside of NATO). The United States used two arguments with its allies to keep them in line. One was the continuing need to have a common front vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. The second was their common interest in repelling attempts by developing countries in the South to reorganize the world-economy in a direction that was less favorable to the North.

The allies went along, but only partially. For example, in the 1980s Western European leaders (even Margaret Thatcher) signed a gas pipeline deal with the Soviet Union over US protests. But in general, European steps were timid. What undermined US political strength the most was the demise of the Soviet Union, which removed the major emotional argument that had kept the Western Europeans and the East Asians in line. It was only then that South Korea could launch a "sunshine policy" toward North Korea, against US wishes. In response, the United States pushed the expansion eastward of both NATO and the European Union, thereby bringing into these institutions countries that were in no mood to become politically independent of the United States and served therefore as a drag on such aspirations by the previous members. Glass half full.

On nuclear proliferation, the score was not too different. India and Pakistan became nuclear powers. Israel did too, although it never admitted this, and the United States winked at it. So did South Africa, whose apartheid government generously abandoned the program just before turning over power to the African National Congress. When Brazil's generals looked as though they would proceed with a nuclear program (with Argentina just behind), the United States suddenly became in favor of democracy. The generals were ousted, and the nuclear programs abandoned. When Iraq seemed to be making progress, Israel bombed its facilities. Glass half full.

Finally, the United States was perhaps most successful in dismantling the economic developmentalist programs in the South. The Washington Consensus proclaimed that the world was in the new era of globalization, to which there was no alternative. The World Economic Forum at Davos rallied the elites behind this program. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the US Treasury enforced it. The World Trade Organization (WTO) was constructed to push the program further in multiple domains. And given first the world economic stagnation and balance-of-payments problems of countries in the South, and then the economic and political collapse of the Communist regimes of east-central Europe, most countries in the South fell into line. Glass three-quarters full.

This globalization program was already beginning to come apart in the late 1990s, before George W. Bush became President. The Europeans created the euro, which threatened the last remaining element of fundamental US economic strength, the fact that the US government was not subject to balance-of-payments dilemmas, combined with the commercial edge the reserve status of the dollar gives the United States. The financial crisis in 1997 in Southeast and East Asia, followed by those in Russia and Brazil, tarnished the sheen of globalization and brought to power a series of leaders who represented a harder line toward the United States: Roh Moo Hyun in Korea, Megawati Sukarnoputri in Indonesia, Vladimir Putin in Russia, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in Brazil, and Néstor Kirchner in Argentina. Saddam Hussein had survived the Gulf War and remained a lump in the craw of the United States and a continuing symbol of defiance for others in the Arab world. The Oslo Accord on Israel/Palestine fell apart, despite all the energy Clinton put into fulfilling it. By the time the WTO got around to trying to do its work, in Seattle in 1999, it ran into serious organized opposition, which then transmuted itself into the World Social Forum that met at Porto Alegre.

In short, the United States was already in difficulty when George W. Bush was voted in by the Supreme Court. At first, he continued the Nixon-to-Clinton foreign policy. That was, after all, the point of making Colin Powell Secretary of State. But after 9/11, Karl Rove and Dick Cheney joined forces and persuaded Bush that he had to become a wartime President and implement the program of the hawks. Bush did this and now finds himself in the impossible situation of not being able to pull back, even though the whole Iraq policy no longer seems so useful in electoral terms and is certainly not succeeding in geopolitical terms.

At first, Bush continued the Nixon-to-Clinton foreign policy, but after 9/11 he was persuaded to implement the program of the hawks.

Those who criticize Bush for his "unilateralism" seem to think that all the United States needs to do to put the country back on track is to return to the policies of the past thirty years, and the glass would become at least half full again. This is an illusion. The reason I call the previous policy "soft" multilateralism is that the United States never really meant it. Every administration of the past thirty years assumed it would get its way at least 95 percent of the time. But it always reserved the right to go it alone if it didn't. US diplomacy was good enough that the bluff was never called. In 2003, it was called.

Why cannot the United States simply go back to soft multilateralism? Because once Washington displayed its raw power against its allies, none of the three tactics are viable anymore. Partnership no doubt appeals to some governments in NATO. But the key ones have grown very wary of the United States. And the public opinion of those others who are still seeking partnership is not with their governments. Look at France. Pascal Boniface, director of the mainstream Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques, writing in the principal conservative newspaper *Le Figaro*, argues that Bush merely amplified the policies of the "multilateralist" Clinton, concluding, "We are not about to see normalized relations between France and the United States." And the historically pro-American François Heisbourg of the more conservative Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, is scarcely friendlier: "France has been right for months.... to think that 'old Europe' is going to jump into the same hole that the Americans are trying to get out of, that's fantasy land." In Germany, the most

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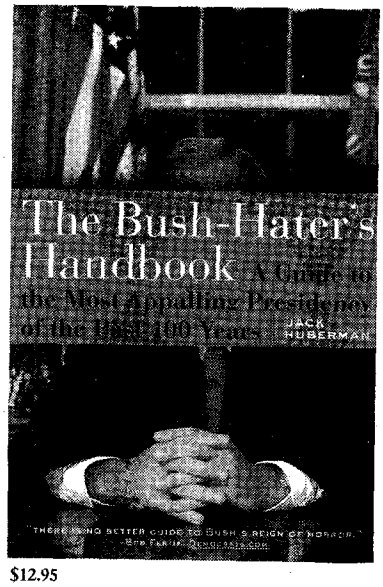

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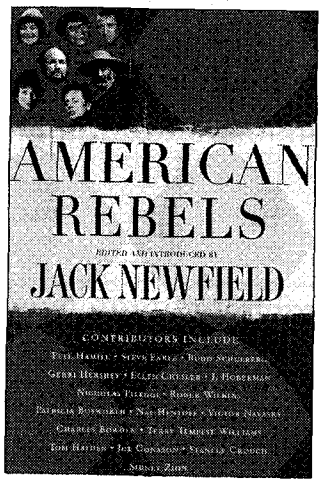

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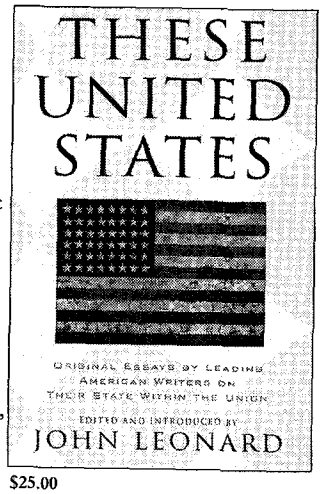
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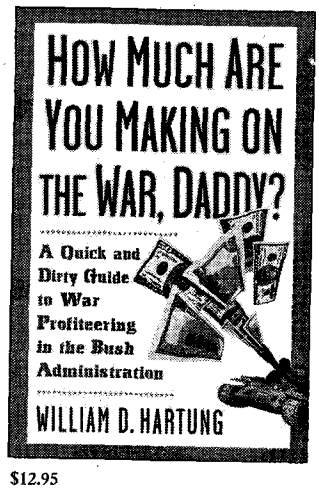
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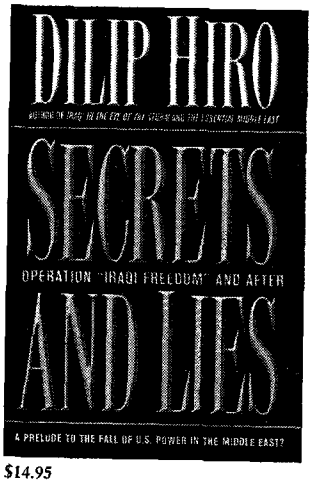

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popular thing that Chancellor Schröder has done in recent years, when he and his party have otherwise been in trouble, has been standing up to the United States. And France and Germany have now announced a much closer coordination of their foreign policies, which is certainly not good news for the US State Department. It represents the reinforcement of the idea of a hard European core within the European Union that is autonomous and therefore need not follow the US lead.

As for Putin, he plays a cagey game, trying not to irritate the United States too much. But when the chips are down, he no longer goes along with Washington. Witness his overt move to continue to help Iran build a nuclear plant. He may cancel Iraqi debts (which he'd have a hard time collecting), but only if he gets new Iraqi contracts. In Spain, Prime Minister José María Aznar has found that his Iraq war policies are threatening his party's electoral prospects. And in Great Britain, George Bush visited a country where he had to be hidden from, and protected against, the British people. He didn't address Parliament because he feared being publicly heckled. Not like the good old days. Compare his trip with that of Reagan.

Globalization is just about passé. It was more or less buried at Cancún, where the countries of the South called the bluff of the free traders.

On all fronts, we are moving toward a Europe that is at least as much in competition with the United States as in alliance. Partnership? Partnership against whom? In East Asia, it may be true that all four regional powers—China, Japan, South Korea and North Korea—have reservations about each other and harbor longstanding grievances. Nevertheless, none of them is an unconditional US ally, and all of them are edging toward closer relations with the other three. How close they will be is yet to be seen, but East Asia is on the rise and is not about to take second place to a weakened United States, no matter how "multilateral" Washington claims to be.

Before September 11, many potential nuclear powers in the South were indeed hesitating. If they made a bomb, they risked US (and often European) wrath. It was expensive. It wasn't all that easy to do. But now? Any country in the South that has looked at the second Iraq war can draw from it one simple lesson. Iraq was invaded not because it had weapons of mass destruction but because it didn't. All the talk about the superweapons the United States has been developing forces everyone to think about how they could possibly defend themselves against a United States they do not trust. One old-fashioned atomic bomb can make the United States hesitate seriously. That has become clear in the case of North Korea. One little bomb can cause enough havoc to make it very expensive for the United States to go preemptive—expensive in terms of US lives lost and of the willingness of public opinion to tolerate such a loss of lives. And the more bombs a country of the South can amass, the better. The United States says it doesn't trust these countries—not so much because they might use such bombs against one another but because they might use them against the United States. But the countries of the South think it far more likely that the United States will use such bombs (at least the so-called minibombs) against them than vice versa. We don't have to debate who is right. The fact is that the countries of the South will continue to act on this assumption, and they are not likely to be much more accommodating to a new "multilateralist" United States than they are to George W. Bush. The Brazilian generals gave up their program in the 1980s. In Brazil, today, they are mumbling about reviving it. Yes, Libya has "renounced" making the bomb it was in fact incapable of making, lacking the necessary skilled personnel. And Iran is allowing inspections. But inspections, as we know, will not really stop the process since, under present rules, a country can do everything necessary to prepare the terrain, then renounce the treaty and make the bomb. In ten years we may expect to see another dozen nuclear powers, no matter who is President of the United States. The whole program of containing nuclear proliferation is in tatters, and it is probably an enormous waste of energy to try to revive it. The United States has got to learn to live with it, which is quite a new situation.

Finally, globalization is just about passé. It was more or less buried at Cancún in September 2003. What happened is that the countries of the South (led by Brazil, India, China and South Africa) called the bluff of the free traders. They said free trade works both ways. If you want the South to open up to the North, then the North must open up to the South: no more subsidies to Northern producers, no more tariffs to keep out goods from the South. Of course, the North never really wanted that to happen. It would be political dynamite at home. So the so-called Group of 21 said, Well then, bye-bye! The Miami meeting of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) escaped the Cancún fiasco only because the United States and Brazil agreed to take anything important off the agenda. In short, Brazil won. The United States may twist the arm of El Salvador to sign a trade agreement, but what interests US capitalists is the Brazilian and Argentine markets, not El Salvador's.

This attitude was made possible by three things: The first was the accumulation of negative effects of IMF and WTO policies in the South. Witness the economic collapse of Argentina, which had been the "good boy" of the IMF in the 1990s. The second was the stunning emergence of a worldwide "movement of movements," the World Social Forum (of Porto Alegre), which, despite its very loose structure and incredible assemblage of all kinds of groups, has become a major political force in the world-system, eclipsing its rival, the World Economic Forum (of Davos). And, not least, the third was the United States' continuing difficulties in Iraq, which have tied down its resources and political energy to the point that it is unable to mobilize successfully against the rising resistance to anything that has the smell of still more globalization.

Tomorrow, if we have a "multilateralist" US government, can it come to terms with the Group of 21? Can it construct an FTAA? Well, yes, provided it is ready to open US (and European) frontiers to an inward flow of goods from China, India, Brazil, South Africa and all the tiny, weaker countries of the South. But is anyone seriously contemplating this? Clinton, champion of free trade, wasn't. In any case, after Bush, the price for any deal has gone up. The South will no longer be content with a little

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more aid and an occasional reduction in the prices of pharmaceuticals they have to buy. They want substance now, and substance means changing the structure of the world-economy in ways that reduce the advantage (and probably the standard of living) of the peoples of the North.

What can the US do to get out of the deep hole into which the Bush policy has dug us? First, it has to stop thinking of itself as the greatest country in the world and start thinking of itself as a mature country that has had both greatness and things to repent in its past. Today it is a very strong country in a multipolar world that has and will have other strong countries. Multipolarity is a great virtue, not a danger for the United States. The United States has to decide to enter into dialogue with the world. It is not that the United States has nothing to offer the world; it has plenty. But it has a lot to receive from the rest of the world as well. And it can only offer if it is ready to receive.

In terms of concrete policy, the United States needs to reverse every one of the objectives of the Nixon-to-Clinton world policy. It needs to accept, graciously, the political independence of Western Europe and East Asia, recognizing them as its political peers, who have the right to independent structures in which Washington has no say (such as military forces or currency policies). The United States would of course seek to defend its interests in its discussions with the rest of the world, but it needs to give up the idea that it should—that it can—undermine those structures. And of course Washington would have to accept that to the extent there are world laws and norms, the United States has no right to claim any exemption from them. Quite the contrary, the United States ought to be pushing for everyone to come in under the same umbrella.

Nuclear proliferation is inevitable—and it's not necessarily bad. In 1945, the United States was the only nuclear power. Today there are at least eight such powers, and many others are on the road to getting there. Going from one to eight did not lead to nuclear war, and it's not more likely that going from eight to twenty-five will do so. Indeed, one could make the case that it will reduce the likelihood of nuclear wars. To be sure, if the great powers could arrange very large reductions in nuclear stockpiles, this would be a plus all around. But the "middle powers" of the world are simply not going to accept having zero weapons while the United States has thousands. Knocking one's head against a stone wall has never been an intelligent or useful policy. The United States should stop doing it. The worst of all policies is to say that the existing nuclear powers can remain at their present or ever greater strength and no one else can join them.

Neoliberal globalization has had its day; it is now dead. In the economic turmoil of the next twenty years, the major centers of capital accumulation will probably be more, not less, protectionist. And the South is not going to permit further penetration without reciprocity. The world is coming out of, not into, a free-trade era. In the 1997 financial crisis, the Asian country that did best was Malaysia, which rejected outright the advice of the IMF. What the United States should be encouraging at home and abroad is the kind of economic policies that will decrease, not increase, polarization (internally within countries, and worldwide among countries). Capitalists (American and others) should return to being entrepreneurs—that is, taking risks, reaping the gains if they are adept and accepting the losses if they are not.

Will such a radical reversal guarantee US safety, health and prosperity? There are no guarantees. But it has a far better chance than either the Bush doctrine or the now defunct Nixon-to-Clinton policies of soft multilateralism. Above all, it would allow the United States to hold its head high once again, as a country that tries to live its presumed ideals and, with some difficulty (the kind everyone has), seeks to promote the well-being of its inhabitants and be a good citizen of the world. The United States was once admired for doing this. It might be again. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

SHE SPEAKS ITS NAME

Ann Arbor, Mich.

■ Adam Haslett reviews Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar* (1948), calling it "the most explicit and uncompromising novel about homosexuality ever to be published in the English-speaking world" up to that time ["The Name of Love," Dec. 8]. Has he forgotten Radclyffe Hall's courageous and outspoken *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), banned in Britain and published here only after a successful defense by the nascent ACLU? MARTHA VICINUS

FELONS & THE FRANCHISE

Smyrna, Del.

■ Rebecca Perl's "The Last Disenfranchised Class" [Nov. 24] illustrates one of the problems we prisoners have been dealing with here in Delaware for the past fifteen years. We appreciate all the help we can get from "outside" (not incarcerated) groups, but too much of this "help" acts to disempower prisoners. We do not need people to do for us what we should be doing for ourselves! Woman suffrage was led by women. Black suffrage was led by blacks. Prisoner suffrage must be led by prisoners!

There are millions of prisoners across the nation. Although we cannot vote (for now), our families and friends can vote for us. In Delaware, we are organizing our families and friends to act as a voting bloc. We are letting Delaware politicians know what we are doing. If they try to dismiss us, we remind them that there are 6,500 Delaware prisoners, and that each of us has a couple of people on the outside who love us enough to vote for our interests. That means in the next election more than 13,000 votes will be controlled by prisoners in Delaware. While we may not be able to control an election, we will turn out enough votes in the primaries to sway the outcome to those who support us and away from those who want to hurt us. Delaware's primaries are decided by a couple hundred votes, so we stand a real chance to show some results in 2004.

Delaware can be a model for the nation. If each prisoner in America can get two people to vote for them, that would represent a voting bloc of more than 4 million people! Those are the kinds of numbers no politician will be able to ignore.

The reactionary and abusive mentality that infests our prison administrations will be suppressed only when prisoners use their power to influence the political system.

JOSEPH M. WALLS
Inmate Political Action Committee

ON GORE ENDORSING DEAN

Swarthmore, Pa.

■ The other Democratic candidates now face the daunting task of cutting the Goredean knot.

AARON FINE

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

common killers of pregnant women like septicemia and bleeding to death from an amateur D and C. "Legalizing abortion was a public health advance on a par with the polio vaccine," says women's health writer Barbara Seaman.

If abortion were connected to actual women—people like my friend Amy Richards, who had an abortion at 18 and a selective reduction last year when she found she was pregnant with triplets, or Nancy Flynn, who was a single mom finishing her BA at Cornell when she had an abortion and who told me she would "never have been able to have the rich life I've had and help my son as much as I have if I'd been the single mother of two children"—perhaps the mounting restrictions wouldn't pass so handily. To paraphrase the late poet Muriel Rukeyser: What if women told the truth about their abortions? Even if the world didn't split open, this paralyzing issue might. JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER

Jennifer Baumgardner's new book, Grassroots *(written with Amy Richards), is due out this fall. Although the film isn't ready this year, there will be an event January 22 at Bluestockings bookstore in New York (172 Allen Street, 7–8:30 PM) and other events as far away as Grand Forks, North Dakota. Laura Flanders's* Your Call *radio program will also feature a* Roe *anniversary show. Listen online at www.yourcallradio.org.*

Sectarianism in Iraq

Saddam Hussein's capture on December 13 ended the role of the minority Sunni Arabs as Iraq's ruling group since 1638, when the Sunni Ottoman Turks captured Mesopotamia (then comprising Baghdad and Basra provinces) and incorporated it into their empire. But, as a majority among Baghdad's 6 million inhabitants, and some 20 percent of the total population, Sunni Arabs remain a crucial factor in the complex Iraqi equation.

With Saddam's removal as the nominal leader of Sunni Arabs, the community felt an urgent need to fill the gap. It did so on December 25. That day eighty-five community elders, meeting at Baghdad's famed Umm al Qura Mosque, established the State Council of Sunnis. It consists of various religious-political strands—from mystic Sufis to Salafis (who advocate return to the pristine practices of early Islam) to the Muslim Brotherhood, the forerunner of many Islamist groups in the Arab world—all of them anti-Saddam. The event was a signal to Shiites and Kurds that after a painful period of meandering, the disoriented Sunni Arab community was getting organized to join the fray for power in the new order.

While Shiites want an Islamic republic and Kurds are for a secular, federated state with autonomy for an expanded Kurdistan—administered from its regional capital in Kirkuk with the hefty revenue derived from that region's oil—many Sunni Arabs point out that it was the escalating insurgency by the Sunni-dominated guerrilla movement that forced George W. Bush to reverse his policy in mid-November and opt for a quick handover of sovereignty to Iraqis, and that this entitles their community to a fair share of power in an independent Iraq.

The Sunnis' argument is unlikely to wash with the US-appointed Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), where Sunnis are poorly represented, so the forthcoming reordering of Iraq is going to be anything but orderly. Indeed, the first shots in the intercommunal tension were fired on December 31 in Kirkuk. When thousands of Arabs and Turkmen, protesting Kurdish plans to include the multiethnic Kirkuk within an enlarged Kurdistan Autonomous Region, marched on the headquarters of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the party's militia fired on the protesters, killing six and wounding at least twenty.

This internecine power struggle is being conducted under the hegemony of the US occupiers, who have their own scenario of the New Iraq: secular, democratic, unabashedly capitalist and openly tied to Washington politically (with its government committed in advance to welcoming US military bases), economically (with unfettered access to Iraqi oil) and strategically (as a pressure point against the regimes in Iran and Syria).

Washington's vision is a nightmare to most Sunni and Shiite Arabs. Militant Sunnis, imbued with Iraqi nationalism, are in the forefront of the continuing armed resistance. So far Shiites, three-fifths of Iraq's population, have generally been quiescent, hoping to emerge as the leading political force by exercising their franchise. But even as early as last April, some 1.5 million Shiites marched to Karbala to commemorate the death of Imam Hussein (martyred in AD 680), shouting, "No, no to America! Yes, yes to Islam!" At Hussein's shrine, a deputy of Grand Ayatollah Ali Husseini al-Sistani declared, "Our celebration will be perfect only when the American occupier is gone and the Iraqi people are able to rule themselves by the principles of Islam." Recent demonstrations in the Shiite cities of Basra, Amara and Kut are symptomatic of rising Shiite discontent against Anglo-American occupation.

In the wake of the dissolution of the Sunni-dominated Baath Party, the Shiites are now the most organized community, led by the redoubtable Sistani. In June he issued a religious decree that only directly elected bodies have the right to administer Iraq or draft its Constitution; he reiterated this demand on January 11. In between he stated that he wants clerics to act as watchdogs to insure that Iraqi legislation does not contradict Islam, and he has disapproved of the way the Coalition Provisional Authority and its handpicked IGC altered laws on nationality and foreign investment, both of which impinge on Islamic principles. He has pointedly refused to meet CPA chief Paul Bremer.

Although Bush dropped the earlier plan of having Iraq's Constitution framed by a committee of "experts," he and Bremer have been unwilling to let Iraqis elect the provisional assembly to take over sovereignty from the CPA by July 1. The reasons offered—electoral rolls not being up to date and ration-card identification disenfranchising returned exiles—are spurious. Since every Iraqi carries an ID giving name, address and age, and since the 250 parliamentary constituencies are demarcated and have been used five times between 1980 and 2000, there is no need for updated electoral rolls or the use of ration-card IDs. At an estimated 250,000, the number of Iraqi returnees is a mere 1 percent of the population. Washington's real reason for depriving Iraqi voters of the right to elect the transitional assembly lies in a poll by the Baghdad-based Center for Research and Strategic Studies, which found that 56 percent of respondents wanted an Islamic Iraq.

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COMMENT

The only way Bremer can counterbalance the power of Shiites is by co-opting the Sunnis (which has proved next to impossible) and getting them to coalesce with the Kurds. But while Kurds are 95 percent Sunni, they identify themselves first and foremost on ethnic, not sectarian, grounds. And their leaders have been no more eager to form an alliance with the Shiites. Powerful Shiite clerics would most likely oppose Kurdish demands for a federated Iraq, on the ground that in Islam there are different sects but not different ethnic groups.

In the weeks and months to come, therefore, the labyrinthine politics of Iraq will get even more complicated. DILIP HIRO

Dilip Hiro is the author of the just-published Secrets and Lies: Operation "Iraqi Freedom" and After *(Nation Books).*

Border Justice

The call by George W. Bush for major reform of our failed immigration policy was undoubtedly made with election-year eyes fixed on the growing Latino vote. But less than a week later, a coalition of Latino, civil rights and labor groups responded with a TV ad campaign in Spanish labeling the Bush proposals insufficient and skewed toward corporate employers.

The proposals would make many of the estimated 8 million to 14 million undocumented immigrants in the United States eligible for temporary legal status, with new guestworker visas renewable for three-year periods. And employers could bring in new immigrant workers on the same terms. But these programs would provide no clear path to permanent-resident status or citizenship and would risk creating a new class of second-tier residents, just as the labor-backed TV spot warns.

Still, the heaviest fire against the President's proposals comes not from the left but from his own right wing, laying bare the GOP's Wall Street/Main Street tensions. Corporate America favors the plan as one that would stabilize its coveted low-wage work force. The White House seeks an expanded Latino vote, and border-state Republicans like Arizona Senator John McCain—who has already introduced a reform proposal—seek practical solutions to problems that are overwhelming their districts. In this election year, however, scores of Republican Congress members, ensconced in safe, conservative, mostly white districts, find no allure in appealing to Latinos, and a restrictionist view on immigration prevails within the Republican caucus.

In other words, unless Bush makes a full-court press against the bulk of his own party—much as Bill Clinton did to pass NAFTA—his immigration initiative will be DOA.

There is little to celebrate if this happens, although Democrats and progressives are naturally reluctant to hand the White House a major victory. Bush's plan is a few tortillas short of the "whole enchilada" of immigration reform that former Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda says should be on the table, but it's doubtful that Congress will go even that far. The intensity of GOP opposition to its own President's proposals, along with the recent backlash against (and repeal of) driver's licenses for California's undocumented residents, is a red-alert that immigration reform in the current atmosphere is going to be slow and incremental.

Eventually a much broader program than the one announced by Bush is needed. But approval of at least a tweaked version of his plan would begin to move policy in the right direction, toward ever more enhanced legal status for the undocumented. Future legislation could fill in the biggest hole in the White House plan, the absence of what's called "earned legalization"—legalese for the dreaded "A" word, amnesty. But there can be no long-term solution to the problem of the undocumented unless everyone who has been working here, paying taxes and obeying the law is given a chance to come out of the shadows and earn legalization, permanent residency and, finally, citizenship. Such deeper reforms are now being endorsed in one form or another by all the Democratic presidential candidates and were highlighted last year in the labor-backed immigrant bus ride across the country [see Julie Quiroz-Martínez, "Let Freedom Roll," October 27, 2003].

The Bush blueprint recognizes the economic existence of immigrant workers but does nothing to offer them full political and civil rights. A better plan would include a full amnesty, an opening of the door to green cards and citizenship to those who have been working here, and (unlike the Bush proposal) would not grant employers such a central role in the process. While there are no short-term prospects of passage of such comprehensive measures, the dire situation—one of hypocrisy, denial and death—on the southern border cries out for some forward movement. And neither major party can claim the moral high ground here. During his two terms, with bipartisan compliance, President Clinton spent billions to blockade the border with infrared sensors and cameras, stadium-level lighting and thousands of armed agents. Bush, during his first three years in office, worsened matters by defining border policy strictly in antiterrorism security terms.

These measures have been catastrophic and have not stanched the flow of illegal immigrants. The Border Patrol made the same number of apprehensions last year—about a million—as it did a decade ago. But the immigrants were diverted from populated areas, through freezing mountains and parched deserts, so that last year alone more than 400 people perished trying to cross into the United States. Since the get-tough policy was initiated in 1994, more than 2,600 have died—more than ten times the number who died trying to cross the Berlin wall during its three-decade history. Meanwhile, convenient for American industry, immigration enforcement in the workplace is virtually nonexistent.

Perhaps the most redeeming aspect of the President's announcement is the re-opening of a debate that has been shamefully absent. On Capitol Hill, restrictionist conservatives and pro-amnesty liberals could easily band together to sink the initiative and maintain the abhorrent status quo. More challenging and more urgent is taking advantage of the White House offer and fashioning a different sort of bipartisan agreement. It might not achieve right away what we need to overhaul our failed immigration policy, but it would at least start it along the right track. MARC COOPER

Marc Cooper, a Nation *contributing editor, is the senior fellow for border justice at the Institute for Justice and Journalism at the USC Annenberg School for Communication.*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism

Reflections on anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and the importance of making distinctions.

BRIAN KLUG

In 1879 the German journalist Wilhelm Marr, a former socialist and anarchist, founded an organization that was novel in two ways. It was the first political party based on a platform of hostility to Jews. And it introduced the world to a new word: "anti-Semite."

Marr was an atheist, and the Antisemiten-Liga (League of Anti-Semites) was hostile to Jews on the secular grounds that they are an alien "race." However, his account of "Semitism" was not essentially different from the demonic conception of the Jew that had existed in Christian Europe for centuries. It boiled down to this: Jews are a people apart from the rest of humanity. They are the enemy. Wherever they go, they form a state within a state. Conspiring in secret, they work together to promote their own collective advantage at the expense of the nations or societies in whose midst they dwell and on whom they prey. Cunning and manipulative, they possess uncanny powers that enable them, despite their small numbers, to achieve their ends. The term "anti-Semitism" has come to refer to this discourse, or variations on the themes it contains, because the same rhetoric persists whether Jewish identity is seen as religious, racial, national or ethnic. Sometimes this discourse is explicit; at other times it is the subtext of attacks on Jews. Anti-Semitism, thus defined, is not new.

But a spate of recent articles and books assert the rise of a "new anti-Semitism." This is the thrust of "Graffiti on History's Walls" by Mortimer Zuckerman, the cover story of the November 3, 2003, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. In December *New York* magazine ran a similarly sensationalist cover story, titled "The Return of Anti-Semitism," which spoke of "a groundswell of hate" against Jews and suggested that Jew-hatred was now "politically correct" in Europe. At least three books recently published in English make the same claim: *Never Again?* by Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League; *The New Anti-Semitism* by feminist Phyllis Chesler; and *The Case for Israel* by Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz. Most of the contributors to *A New Antisemitism?*, edited by Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin, take a similar view, with varying degrees of emphasis.

As the words "threat" and "crisis" in the subtitles of the books by Foxman and Chesler indicate, the "new anti-Semitism" is generally seen, by those who proclaim its existence, as a clear and present danger. Foxman believes that a "frightening coalition of anti-Jewish sentiment is forming on a global scale." Chesler goes even further: "Let me be clear: the war against the Jews is being waged on many fronts—militarily, politically, economically, and through propaganda—and on all continents." She even perceives a wider threat to Western civilization itself: "Who or what can loosen the madness that has gripped the world and that threatens to annihilate the Jews and the West?"

Though anti-Zionism is at times tinged with anti-Semitism, they are not the same thing. Confusing them only makes matters worse.

There is certainly reason to be concerned about a climate of hostility to Jews, including vicious physical attacks. On one Saturday this past November, for example, two synagogues in Istanbul were truck-bombed during Sabbath services, while an Orthodox Jewish school in a Paris suburb was largely destroyed by arson. Some researchers report a 60 percent worldwide increase in the number of assaults on Jews (or

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persons perceived to be Jewish) in 2002, compared with the previous year. At the same time, something is rotten in the state of public discourse. Anti-Jewish slogans and graphics have appeared on marches opposing the invasion of Iraq. Jewish conspiracy theories have been revived, such as the widely circulated "urban legend" that Jews were warned in advance to stay away from the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. And recently, certain public figures on both the right and the left have made negative generalizations about Jews and "Jewish influence."

The authors under review tend to lump all these facts together, along with a wealth of evidence for what they see as an explosion of bias against Israel: in the media, in the United Nations, on college campuses and elsewhere. They conclude that there is a single unified phenomenon, a "new anti-Semitism." However, while the facts give cause for serious concern, the idea that they add up to a new kind of anti-Semitism is confused. Moreover, this confusion, combined with a McCarthyite tendency to see anti-Semites under every bed, arguably contributes to the climate of hostility toward Jews. The result is to make matters worse for the very people these authors mean to defend.

The claim that I am criticizing is not that there is a new outbreak of "old" anti-Semitism but that there is an outbreak of anti-Semitism of a new kind. Thus the case in support of this claim is not merely cumulative: It does not consist simply in piling up one example after another. There is an organizing principle, a central idea that holds the case together. It is only in terms of this idea that many of the examples cited in the literature count as evidence of anti-Semitism. Without this central idea, the case that is made with their help falls apart. So the question is this: What puts the "new" into "new anti-Semitism"?

The answer, in a word, is anti-Zionism. The "vilification of Israel," Iganski and Kosmin argue, is "the core characteristic" of Judeophobia (their term for "new anti-Semitism"). In his contribution to their book, Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of Britain and the Commonwealth, explains: "What we are witnessing today is the second great mutation of antisemitism in modern times, from racial antisemitism to religious anti-Zionism (with the added premise that all Jews are Zionists)." Sometimes the point is made by equating the State of Israel in the "new" anti-Semitism with the individual Jew in the "old" variety. Rabbi Sacks himself draws this parallel in an article in the *Guardian*: "At times [anti-Semitism] has been directed against Jews as individuals. Today it is directed against Jews as a sovereign people." In the same vein, Dershowitz argues that Israel has become "the Jew among Nations."

Foxman defines Zionism thus: "*Zionism* simply refers to support for the existence of a Jewish state—specifically, the state of Israel." In a narrow sense, anti-Zionism is simply the antithesis: rejection of the very idea of a Jewish state, specifically Israel. Foxman's verdict on this position is uncompromising: "The harsh but undeniable truth is this: what some like to call anti-Zionism is, in reality, anti-Semitism—always, everywhere, and for all time." He adds for good measure: "Therefore, anti-Zionism is not a politically legitimate point of view but rather an expression of bigotry and hatred."

IN THIS REVIEW

NEVER AGAIN? The Threat of the New Anti-Semitism.
By Abraham Foxman.
HarperSanFrancisco. 305 pp. $24.95.

THE CASE FOR ISRAEL.
By Alan Dershowitz.
John Wiley & Sons. 264 pp. $19.95.

THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM: The Current Crisis and What We Must Do About It.
By Phyllis Chesler.
Jossey-Bass. 307 pp. $24.95.

A NEW ANTISEMITISM? Debating Judeophobia in 21st Century Britain.
Edited by Paul Iganski and Barry Kosmin.
Profile Books in association with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
318 pp. $29.95.

Foxman insists that he is not opposed to criticism of Israel. "In every public forum," he says, "I'm always careful to say that criticism of the state of Israel is not necessarily anti-Semitic." But "is not necessarily" implies "is possibly," and what this really means is "it's usually so." In his view, "most of the current attacks on Israel and Zionism are not, at bottom, about the policies and conduct of a particular nation-state. They are about Jews." This is conventional wisdom in the "new anti-Semitism" literature. The main basis for this opinion is that such attacks single out Israel unfairly or apply a double standard. As Dershowitz writes:

> So long as criticism is comparative, contextual, and fair, it should be encouraged, not disparaged. But when the Jewish nation is the only one criticized for faults that are far worse among other nations, such criticism crosses the line from fair to foul, from acceptable to anti-Semitic.

Just where this line in the sand is drawn varies from author to author. But it tends to be drawn in such a way as to rule out criticism that goes much beyond a gentle rap across the government's knuckles or finger-wagging at the laws of the land.

When I say that "anti-Zionism" puts the "new" into "new anti-Semitism," I am referring not only to anti-Zionism in the narrow sense; I am using the word broadly to include any position that lies on the far side of the line separating "fair" from "foul." Now, if crossing the line is anti-Semitic, and if "most of the current attacks on Israel and Zionism" cross the line, it follows that most current attacks on Israel and Zionism are anti-Semitic. By extension, any attack aimed at a Jewish target is anti-Semitic if it is inspired by a position that crosses that line. Given that both Israel and Zionism are at the center of so much controversy around the world, the effect of this logic is to produce, at a stroke, a quantum leap in the amount of anti-Semitism worldwide, if not a veritable "war against the Jews."

It is, of course, understandable that many Jews find this logic compelling. There is a long and ignoble history of "Zionist" being used as a code word for "Jew," as when Communist Poland carried out "anti-Zionist" purges in 1968, expelling thousands of Jews from the country, or when the extreme right today uses the acronym ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) to refer to the US government. Moreover, the Zionist movement arose as a reaction to the persecution of Jews. Since anti-Zionism is the opposite of Zionism, and since Zionism is a form of opposition to anti-Semitism, it seems to follow that an anti-Zionist must be an anti-Semite.

Nonetheless, the inference is invalid. To argue that hostility to Israel and hostility to Jews are one and the same thing is to conflate the Jewish state with the Jewish people. In fact, Israel is one thing, Jewry another. Accordingly, anti-Zionism is one thing, anti-Semitism another. They are separate. To say they are separate is not to say that they are never connected. But they are independent variables that can be connected in different ways.

The history of the Zionist movement itself illustrates the point. Consider the background to the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, by which the British government committed itself to the creation of

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a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This was a major coup for the Zionist movement. But it would be wrong to think that it was the product of pro-Jewish sentiment within the British establishment. On the contrary, British support for Zionism was spearheaded by anti-Semites within the civil and foreign service. These people believed that Jews, acting collectively, were manipulating world events from behind the scenes. Consequently, they vastly exaggerated the power and influence of the tiny Zionist movement. Balfour himself took a similar view. Moreover, some years earlier, as Prime Minister, he introduced the Aliens Bill (which became law in 1905), aimed specifically at restricting admission of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. He warned Parliament at the time that the Jews "remained a people apart."

The Balfour Declaration was delayed by opposition. The opposition was not led by a rival anti-Semitic faction, as it were, but by Jews. Some of the most prominent members of the British Jewish community were opposed to the Zionist cause. Among them was Edwin Montagu, a member of the Cabinet. Montagu rejected what he saw as the basic premise of Zionism: that Jews constitute a separate nation. In an official memorandum in August 1917, he wrote: "I wish to place on record my view that the policy of His Majesty's Government is anti-Semitic in result and will prove a rallying ground for anti-Semites in every country in the world." A similar view was held by the Conjoint Committee, which joined the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association, and represented British Jewry in foreign affairs. In a long letter that ran in the May 24, 1917, edition of the *London Times*, the committee gave what was, in effect, a critique of mainstream Zionist ideology. Commenting on the claim that "the Jewish settlement in Palestine shall be recognized as possessing a national character in a political sense," the committee wrote:

> It is part and parcel of a wider Zionist theory, which regards all the Jewish communities of the world as constituting one homeless nationality, incapable of complete social and political identification, with the nations among whom they dwelt, and it is argued that for this homeless nationality, a political center and an always available homeland in Palestine are necessary. Against this theory the Conjoint Committee strongly and earnestly protests.

So in 1917 anti-Semites were promoting the Balfour Declaration while a significant number of Jews opposed it. Does it follow that Zionism, in and of itself, is anti-Semitic? Of course not. But this episode does undercut the converse claim: that anti-Zionism is necessarily so.

Why—on what grounds—do the authors under review or people of a similar cast of mind maintain this claim? Zuckerman argues, "Just as historic anti-Semitism has denied individual Jews the right to live as equal members of society, anti-Zionism would deny the collective expression of the Jewish people, the State of Israel, the right to live as an equal member of the family of nations." This is a variation on an argument that is a staple in the "new anti-Semitism" literature. It goes like this: "Given the principle of self-determination for nations, the Jewish people have a right to their own state, like everyone else. To deny that right, especially if this means singling Jews out, is anti-Semitic."

This argument assumes that Jews, or the Jewish people, constitute a nation in the relevant sense, the sense in which the principle of self-determination applies. But this question is no less a burning issue today—not least for Jews themselves—than it was in 1917, when the Conjoint Committee disputed it. (It has been disputed from the beginning of political Zionism in the late nineteenth century down to the present day.) Certainly, mainstream Zionism, insofar as it had an ideology, saw itself as a national movement. But it was unlike other national movements in one crucial respect: There was no pre-existing nation, not in the modern sense of the word, where both territory and language are already in place. Traditionally, the idea of the Jewish people was centered not on a state but on a book, the Torah, and the culture (or cultures) that developed around that book.

Within this book, it is true, there is a narrative about a people, *Am Yisrael* (the people of Israel) in a land, *Eretz Yisrael* (the land of Israel) or *Tzion* (Zion), from which they are exiled and to which they will eventually return. But traditionally, this was regarded as a sacred story, not as a political blueprint. Mainstream Zionism set out to modernize Judaism by politicizing it, nationalizing it, turning the Jewish people into the Jewish nation, in the nineteenth-century sense of that word. The idea was to put Israel, a political entity in the here and now, at the center of Jewish identity. This was a radical departure from the "old" Jewish idea of a Jew. The concept of "new anti-Semitism," to the extent that it is based on mainstream Zionist ideology, is just the

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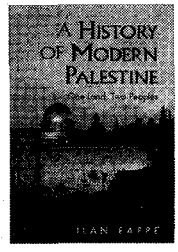

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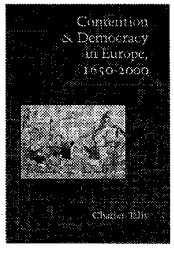

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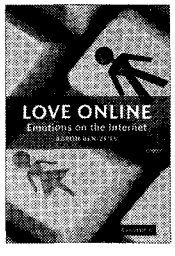

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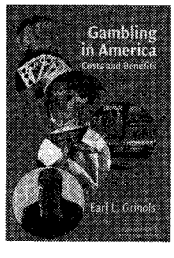

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other side of the coin, the obverse of this new idea of a Jew, the national Jew. Zuckerman and others of this cast of mind are arguing in a circle; for it is only anti-Semitic to reject his argument if you have already accepted it.

However, political Zionism is larger than its mainstream ideology. In the first place, there are other ideologies that have motivated people in the movement. In the second place, people in the movement have been motivated by considerations that have nothing to do with ideology. Many Jews, as well as non-Jewish sympathizers, were drawn to the Zionist goal of creating a Jewish state in Palestine for reasons that were purely humanitarian or practical. This motive was reinforced by the catastrophic consequences of the Second World War: the extermination of one-third of the world's Jewish population, the wholesale destruction of Jewish communities in much of Europe and the plight of masses of Jewish refugees with nowhere to go. In these circumstances, the State of Israel was seen by many Jews as a lifeline. Such people did not necessarily see the state in romantic ethnic terms as "the collective expression of the Jewish people." They saw it simply as a safe haven for Jews, a refuge, a place in the sun.

On this basis, the following argument can be made: "It is one thing to argue about the existence of Israel in 1917, another to do so after 1948, when the state was founded. History has overtaken the question. Israel is no longer an idea in someone's head. It exists. And for millions of Jews, Israel is their home. They have nowhere else to go. To oppose the existence of the Jewish state at this point means nothing less than wanting to deprive these Jews of their homeland and perhaps their very lives. It also means depriving millions of other Jews, Jews around the world, of their protector and their safeguard. For who will come to the defense of Jews, and who will offer persecuted Jews a place of refuge, if not Israel, the Jewish state? Only an antiSemite would want to destroy this state."

The argument, understandable though it is, makes several questionable assumptions. For one thing, the alternatives are not black and white: either preserving the status quo or annihilation. There are a variety of constitutional arrangements in between. For example, Israel could continue to exist as a sovereign state but cease to define itself, in its basic laws and state institutions, as specifically Jewish. Or there is the so-called one-state solution: a binational homeland for Palestinians and Jews. The tragic impasse in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has renewed interest in this proposal among some Arab and Jewish intellectuals. And although this view lacks a significant constituency in either community at present, attitudes may well change. At any rate, while Jews might have embraced Israel as a safe place to be Jewish, Israel today is hardly a place of safety for Jews. And you don't have to be an anti-Semite to envisage a future for Israel, or for Israel's Jewish population, that is not based on the principle of a Jewish state. As for Jews around the world, whether they are safer because of the existence of Israel, or whether Israel is putting them at greater risk than they would otherwise be, is debatable.

I turn now to anti-Zionism in the broader sense: criticism of Israel that is unbalanced or intemperate. It is true that some critics judge Israel by harsher criteria than they use to judge other countries, that they misrepresent the facts so as to put Israel in a bad light, that they even vilify the Jewish state, none of which is fair. But is it necessarily anti-Semitic? The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a bitter struggle. The issues are complex, passions are inflamed and the suffering in both communities is immense. In such circumstances, partisans on both sides are liable to "cross the line from fair to foul." Moreover, just as there are those on the outside who support the Palestinians, so there are those whose sympathies lie with Israel. When the latter cross the line, they are not *ipso facto* racist or Islamophobic. By the same token, when others cross the line on behalf of the Palestinian cause, this does not make them anti-Semites. It cuts both ways.

Imagine if the soldiers in the West Bank and Gaza were Christians. Would they be accepted more readily than Israeli Jewish troops?

A simple thought experiment reinforces this argument. Imagine if Israel were the same in every essential respect as the state that exists today, including its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, except in its religious identity. Suppose it were Catholic, like the Crusader states that Europeans created in the Middle East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Let us call this imaginary state "Christiania" instead of "Israel." Would Christiania be accepted into the bosom of the region more readily than Israel has been? I doubt it. Would the animosity felt toward Christiania be qualitatively different from, or significantly less than, the hostility now directed at Israel? Again, I think not. Any differences would be a matter of nuance. In fact, Israel is often called a "crusader state" in Arab and Muslim circles. In a way, this says everything about the Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts. Crusader states, like the imaginary Christiania, were Christian; the State of Israel is Jewish. But the underlying hostility toward it in the region is not hostility toward the state as Jewish but as a European interloper or as an American client or as a non-Arab and non-Muslim entity; moreover, as an oppressive occupying force. Some people see this disposition toward Israel as anti-imperialist or anticolonialist, others as chauvinist or xenophobic. But in and of itself, it is not anti-Semitic.

Which is not to deny that anti-Semitism enters the mix. But it is one ingredient in a complex situation, not the engine that drives anti-Zionism. When Chesler speaks of "the war against the Jews," and Foxman refers to "the resurgence of worldwide anti-Semitism," they give the impression that the monsters of the deep are stirring once again and that the 1930s are returning with a vengeance. Foxman says as much: "I am convinced we currently face as great a threat to the safety and security of the Jewish people as the one we faced in the 1930s—if not a greater one." But there is a world of difference between then and now, as there is between anti-Semitism in Europe and the Middle East.

In Europe, its original home, anti-Semitism is an old and deeply rooted cultural trait that from time to time (as in the League of Anti-Semites) has found political expression. In the Arab and Muslim world today it is, roughly speaking, the other way around: The political conflict is what comes first and goes deep, while anti-Semitism is a secondary formation, a by-product of aspirations and grievances that have nothing to do with a priori prejudice against Jews (although such prejudice was hardly absent from the Muslim world before the creation of Israel). Foxman says that anti-Semitism is "rampant in the world of Islam" and warns against its "spread" in Europe due to the burgeoning Muslim population. But without a doubt, it would not be spreading within Muslim communities in Europe were it not for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially the current crisis that began in 2000 with the breakdown of the Oslo peace initiative and the outbreak of the second intifada.

In the scenario painted by Chesler, Foxman and others, no distinction is made be-

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tween, say, the young Muslim immigrants who carried out the vast majority of physical attacks against Jews in France in 2002, and someone like the former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. Mahathir's speech to the tenth session of the Islamic Summit Conference this past October was an example of classical anti-Semitic discourse, with its peculiar combination of animus and admiration. Describing Jews as "the enemy," he warned, "We are up against a people who think." He went on to credit Jews with having "invented," among other things, human rights and democracy. "With these," he explained, "they have now gained control of the most powerful countries and they, this tiny community, have become a world power." Mahathir was singing from the same anti-Semitic hymn book as Wilhelm Marr. But the evidence suggests that the perpetrators of the anti-Jewish attacks in France were animated by political outrage, not bigotry. According to the Israeli Foreign Ministry itself, most of the incidents were a protest against inequities in the occupied territories.

"Nonetheless," someone might object, "the young Muslim immigrants who carried out these attacks are anti-Semites. For it's not the Jews of France who are occupying the territories, it's the State of Israel. If the motive for these incidents was purely political, why didn't the protesters attack the Israeli embassy? Why attack individual Jews and Jewish institutions? This is a clear case of lumping all Jews together and holding them collectively responsible. This is what makes these incidents anti-Semitic."

The objection, however, is misconceived, and the misconception goes to the heart of the complex situation in which Jews find themselves today. Israel does not regard itself as a state that just happens to be Jewish (like the medieval kingdom of the Khazars). It sees itself as (in Prime Minister Sharon's phrase) "the Jewish collective," the sovereign state of the Jewish people as a whole. In his speech at the Herzliya Conference in December, Sharon called the state "a national and spiritual center for all Jews of the world," and added, "*Aliyah* [Jewish immigration] is the central goal of the State of Israel." To what extent this view is reciprocated by Jews worldwide is hard to say. Many feel no particular connection to the state or strongly oppose its actions. On the other hand, in spring 2002, at the height of Israel's Operation Defensive Shield, Jews gathered in large numbers in numerous cities to demonstrate their solidarity, as Jews, with Israel. Many Jewish community leaders, religious and secular, publicly reinforce this identification with the state. All of which is liable to give the unreflective onlooker the impression that Jews are, as it were, lumping themselves together; that Israel is indeed "the Jewish collective."

Not that this justifies, not for one moment, a single incident where Jews are attacked for being Jewish; such attacks are repugnant. But it does provide a context within which to make sense of them without seeing a global "war against the Jews." There is no such war. It is, in fact, as much a figment of the imagination as its mirror image: a Jewish conspiracy against the world. Jews have good reason to be concerned about growing hostility toward them. But while this includes the revival of hard-core anti-Semitism, it is closer to the truth to say that anti-Zionism today takes the form of anti-Semitism rather than the other way round. As Akiva Eldar observed recently in *Ha'aretz*, "It is much easier to claim the entire world is against us than to admit that the State of Israel, which rose as a refuge and a source of pride for Jews...has become a genuine source of danger and a source of shameful embarrassment to Jews who choose to live outside its borders."

In defense of her assertion that there is a global "war against the Jews," Chesler wields the ultimate weapon. "In my opinion," she says, "anyone who denies that this is so or who blames the Jews for provoking the attacks is an anti-Semite." Since I deny that there is such a war, this makes me an anti-Semite. But since her argument empties the word of all meaning, I do not feel maligned. In his contribution to *A New Antisemitism?*, historian Peter Pulzer, faulting the way "the liberal press" sometimes reports the activities of the Israel Defense Forces in the occupied territories, makes a telling point about the misuse of words. He says: "When every civilian death is a war crime, that concept loses its significance. When every expulsion from a village is genocide, we no longer know how to recognize genocide. When Auschwitz is everywhere, it is nowhere." Point taken. But equally, when anti-Semitism is everywhere, it is nowhere. And when every anti-Zionist is an anti-Semite, we no longer know how to recognize the real thing—the concept of anti-Semitism loses its significance. ■

ART

Bad Boy, Good Manners

ARTHUR C. DANTO

JOHN CURRIN

Few of the good things that reward the rising—or risen—young artist have not fallen to John Currin in recent days. He is the subject of a widely celebrated midcareer retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art. Ecstatic "I told you so" reviews appeared in the *New York Times* and in *The New Yorker*, the latter accompanied by a portrait of the artist by Richard Avedon. According to a headline in the *Times*, he has "startled" the art world by switching dealers, from Andrea Rosen to Gagosian, one of the toniest galleries in the hierarchy. In 2002 a 1995 painting, of the sort that once provoked critical rants, went for $427,000 at Sotheby's; on the private resale market, his prices have shot up to $600,000. And he has achieved all this as much in spite of his work as because of it. Over the past decade, Currin's paintings of startlingly busty young women in mini-skirts and tight blouses have aroused the ire of a dour and censorious art establishment, which had marginalized painting as a medium, vilified the "male gaze" and monitored political incorrectness with a near-Victorian zealousness. His earlier detractors have now joined the chorus of his admirers. But what particularly impresses me is that he has evolved from the role of Bad Boy of the art world into what very few contemporary painters have the gift, let alone the taste, to aspire to—a master of high Mannerist aesthetics. At a time when most of his contemporaries would cite Warhol, Duchamp and Nauman among their influences, Currin invokes Bruegel, Cranach and Parmigianino.

"Mannerist" has typically been used as a pejorative, ever since Mannerism was accepted as a genuine art-historical period of the sixteenth century, covering the art and architecture produced mainly in Italy from

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the High Renaissance till the advent of the Baroque. It is, according to *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, "the most willful and perverse of stylistic periods." What I find astounding is that in little more than a decade, Currin should have outgrown the aggressive thrift-shop style of his early portraits to become a virtuoso of a style and manner that would have been admired in Ferrara or Parma in the 1550s—and that Mannerism, with its artifice and virtuosity, should of all things define one of the brightest art stars of the early twenty-first century!

Being photographed by Avedon is one of the ordeals of celebrity, but the portrait by Todd Eberle, which the *Times*, in announcing his ascension to the Gagosian Gallery, reprinted from *Vanity Fair*, is a wonderful study of the Mannerist in his studio, rather than a mere demonstration, as in Avedon's case, of the photographer's will to power. It was taken in 2000, and as it is almost a key to reading Currin's pictures, the artist must have had a say in how he was to be shown. He stands between two easels, on one of which is a painting—the haunting *Sno-Bo* of 1999—and on the other is a mirror, which shows the artist from behind. The facial resemblance between Currin, with his boyish good looks and longish hair, and the delectable young woman in the painting, is remarkable. It confirms his claim, often made in interviews, that he uses his own face as a model. That does not mean that the painting is a Self-Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman—but his placement between mirror and painting is certainly an allegory of painting as he conceives it. On the ledge of the easel that holds the mirror, Currin has placed the open-toed red platform shoe with rope soles and long laces that Sno-Bo is wearing in the painting—and the puddle of reddish pigment on the glass palette is meant to tell us that he has been at work. The floor is strewn with the carefully placed magazines that Currin uses for models when he does not resort to his own features—*Cosmopolitan*, a girlie magazine and two others I am unable to identify. Like everything in the photograph, they serve as signs. Currin's pants are smeared with white paint, which could be explained with reference to the fat snowflakes in the painting. But Currin cannot be a sloppy painter, and the snowflakes are carefully dotted across the surface.

We know, moreover, that he wore paint-smeared pants on his first date with the artist Rachel Feinstein, whom he was to marry. "Whatever I wore," he says in an interview, "I am sure it was calculated.... As the pretext of meeting her was that I was going to paint her, then that was the message." Everything in the photograph—like everything in the paintings—is calculated. Standing in the studio, Currin points, like a figure in an allegory by Bronzino, to a clue. In this case, the clue is his wedding band. The photograph tells a story. The painting is to be explained with reference to his marriage.

COURTESY ANDREA ROSEN GALLERY, PHOTOGRAPH BY FRED SCRUTON © JOHN CURRIN

***Stamford After-Brunch* (2000)**

Let's leave the photograph, which you can find on the Internet, and pay attention to the painting, which I adore. *Sno-Bo* is a pendant to Currin's *Hobo*, the difference being mainly that in *Sno-Bo*, the charming vagrant stands daydreaming in the snow, her left foot resting on what would be a fork in a branch, except that it belongs to a shepherd's crook, which Sno-Bo uses as a staff to help her over her life's path. Her left elbow rests on her raised knee. Like her counterpart in *Hobo*, Sno-Bo is carrying a sack with what we presume are her worldly belongings. She is bent forward and to one side, so that her defenseless breasts hang softly down, above her vulnerable little belly. Despite the snow, she does not seem to suffer from the cold. She wears a bright smile, and her pensive eyes sparkle. She is clothed in the sheerest of pink intimate garments, something ordinarily to be worn in warm bedrooms. A tiny kerchief is tucked into a gold chain about her waist. Her sister figure Hobo also has a gold chain, with jewels, a blue ribbon tied gaily to her wrist, and her purse hangs from the fork in her walking stick. She wears a sheer sleeved blouse and panties so transparent that her pubic hair can plainly be seen.

The two figures are exceedingly mysterious. "I was interested in the silvers, the silvery-ness, and the see-through clothes," Currin says. "That was the big joke: It's a homeless person with beautiful see-through lingerie and bedecked in jewels." *Hobo* and *Sno-Bo* could be panels—say summer and winter—in a Mannerist boudoir, the way Boucher's paintings of the seasons decorate Madame Pompadour's boudoir, now in the Frick. They are erotic paintings that imply larger meanings. The women are protected by their beauty against the harshness of the world. The images imply the world's harshness by indirection. As paintings they have the power to hold us in front of them, contemplating meanings too fragile and remote for application to life, like the kinds of visions a wizard in Shakespeare is capable of summoning into momentary being for someone's entertainment—interludes in life. There are certain things that belong to art alone.

One of Currin's earlier paintings is called *The Wizard*. A man with cartoon features, looking something like a ventriloquist's dummy with thick lips and false eyelashes, palpates a young woman's immense breasts, wearing what look like tight black rubber gloves. His eyes are closed, her eyes are either downcast or gaze downward at her extraordinary bosom. It is difficult to tell whether the man is kneeling or the woman herself is gigantesque. There is a lingering question as to what exactly explains the title of the work, but I can think of a way of reading the work that does. If he is a wizard, then he has worked his magic on the woman, making her dream of large breasts come true. It may seem presumptuous, if not offensive to certain sensibilities, to suggest that it is her dream, not the Wizard's. Yet the picture is part of a body of works that project a world where women are proud of such breasts, measure them, and admire other women who have them. After *The Wizard*, men all but disappear from this world.

The Wizard was painted in 1994. Within just a few years, Currin began showing the paintings that won him notoriety—*The Bra Shop* and *Jaunty and Mame*, both of 1997, show women with breasts like beach balls, which stretch their sweaters or blouses past the point of safety. The women measure one another's bosoms or purchase the heavy-duty bras their amplitude demands. They look demurely pleased with the bodies nature bestowed upon them, but their faces are coarse and silly. It is a Mannerist touch that the paired females

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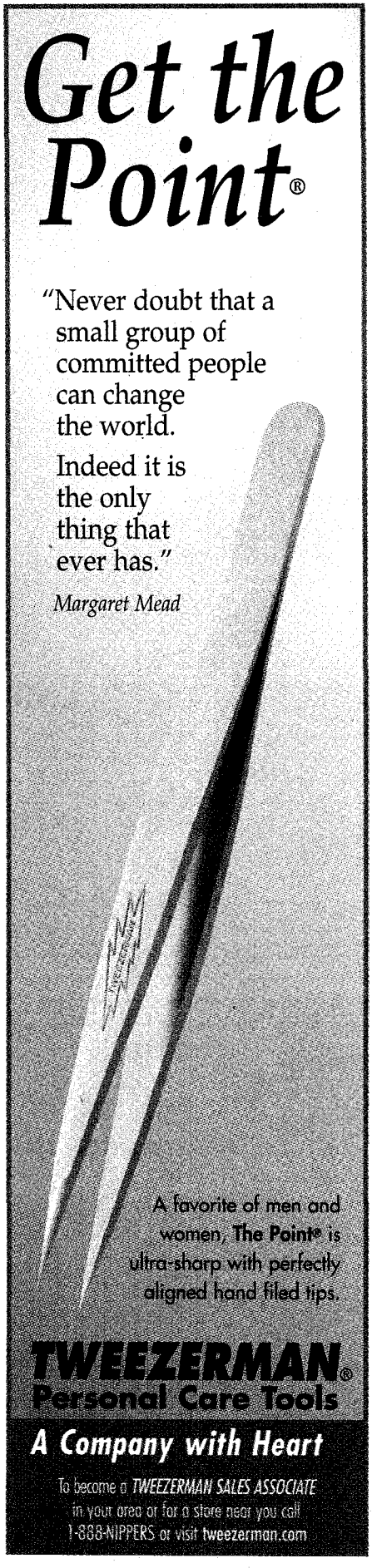
evoke a Visitation, a painting where two women—actually Mary and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist—are shown meeting. It is easy to see how these paintings gave Currin a sexist reputation, and seemed in general misogynistic and mean-spirited. They are aggressive paintings, and women often felt infuriated upon seeing them. Perhaps they were intended polemically, as a defense through offense against the charge that painting as such is sexist, and the province of machismo. They certainly could not be simple fantasies of a male fetishistically fixated on big boobs. Currin could not have been turned on by the women in his paintings. He is someone with a singularly refined sensibility, as is clear from his more recent work. But I am struck by the fact that his critics and commentators alike have used these grotesqueries, rather than the silvery Mannerist paintings, to define his project as an artist. That blurs the amazing shift in direction that his work took around 1999. The earlier work required a suppression of the painterly impulses that have emerged. To use a distinction framed by Hilton Kramer in deprecating Philip Guston, it is far easier for a mandarin to become a stumblebum than the other way around. Anyone can go to seed—but one cannot become a Mannerist as a matter of stylistic decision. One has to allow talents to show that have been held in check all along.

The catalogue places an exquisite portrait that Currin painted of his wife in 2002 as a marker, dividing the plates into two sets that could for the most part have been done by two different artists, so far at least as painterly touch and pictorial manner are concerned. It is called *Rachel in Fur*, and it has an almost porcelain translucency. Rachel looks calmly out from behind huge hexagonal sunglasses, her pale lips composed in a quiet smile. The fur looks deep, opulent and luxurious: One sees its warmth and softness. The proportions of the face have an ethereal oddness—the forehead is high and wide, the chin small, and the neck has been borrowed from Parmigianino. The plates that follow, though for the most part they reproduce paintings done slightly earlier, use another species of woman altogether, Mannerist creatures all, sprung from painting rather than copied from life, undeniably erotic, but made of something beyond flesh, and looking, as painting, more as if their habitat were the *Wunderkammer*—the cabinet of wonders where sixteenth-century princes displayed strange, rare and beautiful objects—than the museum of fine arts. They embody the aesthetics of miniatures, executed with the finest brushes on the smoothest surfaces.

A case in point is the astonishing *Pink Tree* of 1999. Two golden nude women are painted against a pair of bare trees, whose branches have been sawed short, as if pollarded. The background itself is black, as in a painting by Cranach of goddesses; and the blackness transforms the flesh into something effulgent with its own light, like a celestial substance. The Mannerist body was typically elongated, with unusually small heads. Currin's women have these elongated figures, but he has given them disproportionately large heads on thin necks. They have luminous blond coiffures, and strange yet perfect features. The woman on the right is smiling, and has an ampler body than her partner. The two women touch, and there is in effect a choreography of hand gestures, but what is going on between them is anybody's guess. It could be a lady and her handmaiden or confidante—Phaedra and her attendant, say. (If it were a real Mannerist work, it might be Electra and Clytemnestra.) Who would have expected to see artifice like this in an age like ours? Such painting implies a court, the murmur of poetry, the sound of lutes, the discourse of fine ladies and chivalric suitors.

Stamford After-Brunch, probably Currin's masterpiece, brings us abruptly back to where we live. Three spoiled young women sit in their snug suburban living room, merrily clinking martini glasses and smoking big cigars. A wintry landscape, seen through the window, underscores the security of their lives. They have wonderful animated expressions, as if they have been sharing gossip or revealing naughty secrets. There is something comically wrong in the drawing of the figure to the right—the chief conspirator, one feels. Her butt goes back and back, straight out of the picture. It could make an erudite allusion to a Venus Callipygus—Venus with enlarged buttocks. Or it could mean something else. "The distortions of my figures do not originate from illustration. They come from my first drawing attempts whose inherent flaws and rhythms I try not to correct," Currin once explained. "My main concern is shaped from, partly, an abstract point of view while keeping it believable and keeping the graphic rhythm. I also find it intriguing and humorous." I don't think the bosoms are believable in the controversial paintings of 1997, nor are they flaws in draftsmanship. They were willed. But here, the elongated butt serves as counterweight to the girl's large head, enabling her to bend forward,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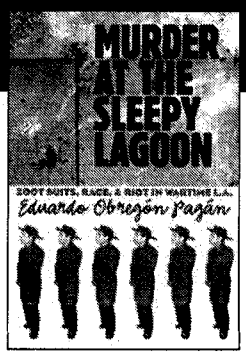

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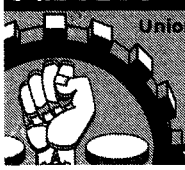

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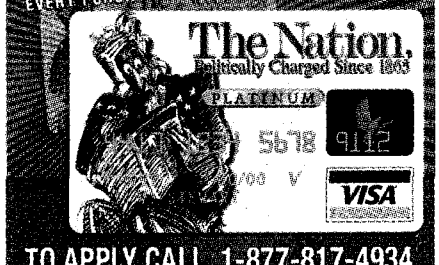

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toward her pals, without falling over, though it could, if intentional, make a moral comment. With her cigar, martini glass and head cloth covering her rollers, one supposes the young lady thinks she is pretty hot stuff. That tail carries away part of her sophistication while it enables her to keep her balance.

Currin is often compared to Norman Rockwell by critics who consider this the supreme put-down. I to the contrary think it shows how good Rockwell really was. But there is an edge to such paintings as *Stamford After-Brunch* that would be entirely foreign to Rockwell. This is nowhere more evident than in the strange *Thanksgiving* of 2003. Three festively dressed women are gathered around a table like a coven of witches, with some pieces of fruit, a few roses in a glass pitcher and an immense uncooked turkey. The turkey appears to be thawing—it sits in a puddle of pink juice. One of the women offers a spoonful of this exudate to another, whose mouth is wide open, as if about to receive the sacrament. The scene is set in a dark and opulent room, with columns, beams and an unlit chandelier. The two younger women are sisters, so to speak, of Parmigianino's *The Madonna of the Long Neck*. The older woman has exactly the coiffure of the heroine in Caravaggio's *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, which may be a clue to its meaning. The painting cries out for the kind of interpretation that Erwin Panofsky once gave of Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time*. It is an optimistic work in the sense that the artist evidently believes there exists an audience out there of the kind Bronzino could count on to enjoy unriddling allegories while admiring the craft. I find this confidence in the collaborative intelligence of the art world inspiring, if utopian. ■

FILMS

The Hunt for Hussein

STUART KLAWANS

CRIMSON GOLD • MONSTER

About a third of the way through the long, long flashback that is *Crimson Gold*, someone mentions that the main character, Hussein, needs to work outdoors because of his claustrophobia. It's a throwaway comment—but like every other detail that's doled out in the film, it makes your stomach drop, as if the quicksand around you had given way another inch. Why hadn't you seen from the start that Hussein couldn't bear confinement? It should have been obvious from the first scene—the one where he died by his own hand, having botched the robbery of a jewelry store.

You think back to that beginning, or rather end, which was played out in a narrow, darkened space defined on the far side by a barred security gate and on the near side by the awkward, blubbery silhouette of Hussein himself. For something like four minutes, or eternity, this opening shot of *Crimson Gold* had kept you trapped with Hussein, by Hussein, while the camera's sole movement was a slow push forward, squeezing the lens toward the body, the body toward the bars. At last the only air left was outside, in an unattainable little slice of the Tehran streets. People on the sidewalk were milling about and shouting, since the store's owner (unseen by you) was already dead on the floor. Then, at the moment of maximum compression, Hussein's ski mask came off; his hand lifted toward the shadowed head, holding a pistol.

So—Hussein had been claustrophobic! If you think of *Crimson Gold* as a series of explanations for a desperate crime, then you might dismiss the film (wrongly, I think) as just another late-neorealist weepie: the portrait of an abject prisoner of circumstance. But it seems to me that the movie is concerned both with the shackles on Hussein and with the freedom of the more affluent people around him, audience members included. The deeper mystery of the film—for which *Crimson Gold* offers no easy solution—is that every new piece of information we get about Hussein turns out to be something we might have known.

Directed by Jafar Panahi (*The White Balloon*, *The Circle*) from a screenplay by Abbas Kiarostami, *Crimson Gold* is full of characters who think they understand Hussein, and who are never so insultingly wrong as when they pretend to be gen-

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erous to him. A con artist in a cafe invites himself to Hussein's table and grandly puts the order onto his own tab—picking up the cost of one whole cup of tea—while addressing him as a fellow thief. (In fact, the fortyish Hussein has a job delivering pizzas.) A client in a fourth-floor walk-up—someone who turns out to have served with Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war—calls the deliveryman a saint, then tips under 3 percent and shoos him from the door. Another client, a wealthy young man who has spent time in America and despises Tehran, plays the unpretentious democrat with Hussein, inviting him into his apartment to share the pizza and then, preoccupied and indifferent, leaving him to wander alone through the vast, gilded triplex (no chance of claustrophobia here).

Then there's Mr. Vaziri, owner of a jewelry shop in the chic district, whose charity toward Hussein proves fatal. In the kindest, most sincere tones possible, the elderly jeweler advises Hussein and his fiancée to go down to the souk and buy some nice, locally fashioned gold, rather than attempt to purchase his fancy stuff. When Hussein zooms away on his motorbike into the thick traffic that is so common in Iranian cinema, he is furious both with Vaziri and with the fiancée, who clings to his back and keeps apologizing as if she'd done something wrong.

A hulking, overstuffed sausage of a man, Hussein speaks in intermittent rumbles and walks as if numb; but for all that, he's shrewd about people. He deplores his fiancée's meekness, his future brother-in-law's horniness (the young fellow can't believe that in Hussein's youth, women walked around with their hair showing and everything), his own slowness and corpulence. (The medicine he takes, evidently to treat a wartime trauma, has made him unrecognizable to himself.) Behind the drooping eyelids glints intelligence—damaged and outraged, but real—which saves Hussein from being merely a toy of the filmmakers. He's also saved by another, more important quality: true generosity.

This authentic kindness comes to the fore in one of *Crimson Gold*'s longest, most extraordinary scenes, in which Hussein attempts to deliver pizzas to a fashionable apartment building and is stopped by the vice squad. They're staked out in the darkness, waiting to arrest guests leaving a party where liquor is being served and men are dancing with women. To prevent Hussein from warning these miscreants, the police chief orders him to park his motorbike and stand to one side. Hussein can't make his delivery and he can't leave—which makes him similar to a young cop he talks to (a bored 15-year-old with a rifle) who will be on duty until near dawn, and to a number of curbside detainees who had come to pick up partygoers and now are stuck in their cars, waiting for the arrests. The situation, in a way, is a mirror image of the opening scene: exterior instead of interior, nocturnal instead of daylit, with the silhouetted criminals being shown not in the foreground but at the rear of the shot. (They're visible behind the shades of a second-story window, doing the frug.) The most important difference, though, is that here Hussein is not completely constrained. He can press for a little freedom of movement—and he uses it to hand out the undeliverable pizza to anyone who is hungry, cops and detainees alike.

Crimson Gold has scenes of even greater tension, pathos and outrageousness, but this one feels to me like the heart of the film. That's partly because it culminates in an act of kindness, carried out by the character who can least afford the expense; but it's also because the film's meticulous control of themes and visual forms is carried out here with such apparent casualness. Everything seems to happen on its own, with open-air ease—including the performance

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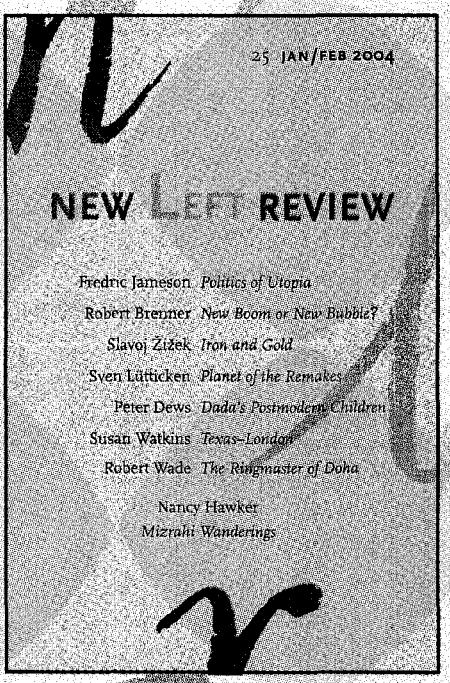
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by the lead actor, Hussein Emadeddin (in real life a pizza deliveryman), whose utterly natural demeanor in the role can have been achieved only through hours of painstaking work.

Not that you think about Emadeddin's effort, or Panahi's, when you're watching the film. *Crimson Gold* conceals its considerable art. It wants only to draw you into its subject, so that you once more learn what you already knew about Hussein and his world. It's mysterious, how we perpetually need reminding. It's astonishing, how well Panahi and Kiarostami prompt us. In *Crimson Gold*, we keep sinking and sinking into a quicksand of recognition—which is merely to say, this is one powerfully absorbing movie.

The question of whether you notice the subject matter more than the filmmaking also comes up vividly in *Monster*, a fictionalized version of the life and crimes of Aileen Wuornos, which has gone into wide release after winning several critics' prizes and award nominations. The praise has focused mainly on the film's star and producer, Charlize Theron, an actress previously known mostly for her striking good looks, which she has brought to the skirt roles in such masterpieces as *The Italian Job*. Now, like Nicole Kidman in *The Hours*, she has uglied up in quest of respectability. Absolutely no one was prepared to see an overweight, thick-featured, evil-toothed Theron swagger through Florida's lesbian and biker bars in a convincing impersonation of a $20-a-pop prostitute and multiple murderer.

This is not to belittle Theron's accomplishment, or to suggest that *Monster* is in any way a pose-fest like *The Hours*. Written and directed by Patty Jenkins, the film plays so unaffectedly (by American standards) that you might almost think it's Iranian. Disillusionment, in fact, is one of the movie's framing themes, from the beginning voice-over (in which Wuornos recalls her girlhood dream of being discovered by a Hollywood talent scout, while the images show a grimy kid turning tricks) to the final shots of Wuornos walking into Florida's death row, overlaid by a sardonic recitation of her favorite adages: believe in yourself, love conquers all, love will find a way. The journey between these two moments takes place in the American unpicturesque of crummy motels and bars, clogged truck routes and the occasional low-rent office (where Wuornos makes a doomed attempt to get a straight job). The only joyful sites in this landscape are its amusement parks and roller rinks. There, Wuornos snatches the few moments of happiness she will know, accompanied by her young lover Selby Wall (Christina Ricci).

Monster does not delve into some of the most maddeningly sordid aspects of the Wuornos case—for those, you'd have to consult Nick Broomfield's devastating 1992 documentary *Aileen Wuornos: The Selling of a Serial Killer*—but it's still admirably direct. You get a strong dose of the humiliations and violence that were daily fare to Wuornos, and of the overwhelming need that Wall awoke in her. You also get a Wuornos who seems fully and miraculously alive, as if Theron by sheer willpower had made her nerve endings stretch through the prostheses and padding that encase her. Every emotion in this woman reads right on the skin, even when that surface is latex.

And yet, although she's terrifyingly effective in the role, Theron is no Hussein Emadeddin. She unavoidably makes *Monster* into a movie about her triumph as an actress, almost as much as it's about the horror of Wuornos's life. In this way, the performance echoes Robert De Niro's turn as Jake LaMotta in *Raging Bull*. One difference is, De Niro had been taken seriously even when he looked gorgeous. Theron, who clearly knows what she's doing, apparently felt that an actress may not have such an option.

The other difference is, Jake LaMotta was as noble and heroic as he was monstrous. In choosing Aileen Wuornos as her vehicle to stardom, Theron went for a role of more lurid appeal, no matter how much empathy she brought to the part.

This, too, may have been a smart decision. It's still possible for a woman to play well-grounded roles and look good in them, as Theron herself did in *The Cider House Rules*. But as she knows very well, audiences didn't flock to see her in that picture. Something else may be needed in today's Hollywood, if an actress wants the big crowds and great reviews.

Believe in yourself? Love conquers all? Theron seems to have learned the real motto for success in her business: Die, die, my darling. ■

Short Ode to Screwball Women

On sullen nights like these
when my spirit counts its woes like pearls on a string,
you bring me armfuls of spare pantsuits
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who might kick up her heels in them, flooding rooms
with cunning, air, an almost gaudy vitality.

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courted the heiress, you stormed her gates
disguised as a floozy—and asked the butler
to serve you ginger ale. It was life
you'd rather be drunk on, roaring life
that told you there is no time for spirits
of dark staircases, only lightning ruses
that not only leave no bruises but give
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Losing a boot heel and giddily claiming
I was born on the side of a hill is easy.
For every such moment there are ten
when my ideal snags midflight, a bag caught in branches.
But a girl can dream, can realize, high
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and therefore fearless; that sanity
supplies the ground bass to the wildest singing;
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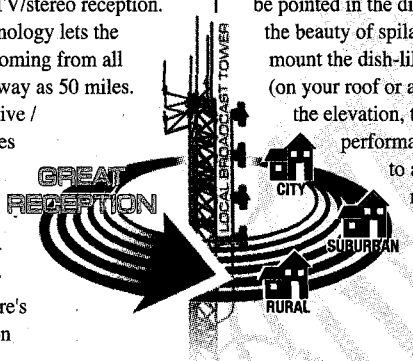

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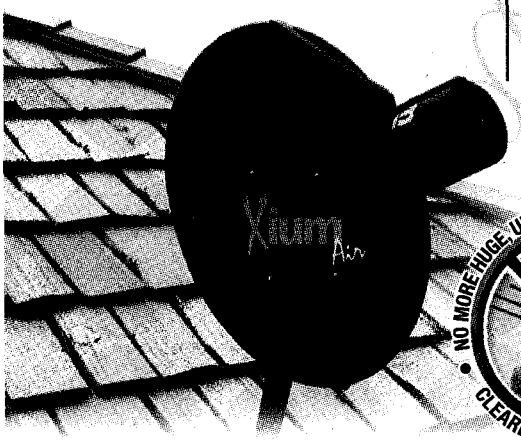

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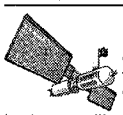

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PHD ECONOMIST, widower of 3 1/2 years, active, middle 80s, sense of humor, politically active, interested in music, the arts and good food, sociable, financially secure. New York City residence and weekend country home, seeks companion to share time, living and a growth of intimacy. Reply to Nation Box 382, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOMAN OF A CERTAIN AGE *MAIS TOUJOURS BELLE*: Small-boned blonde, 105 lbs (I've been told that I look like a movie star), journalist, foreign correspondent, now retired, long based in Paris. Now living in Washington, DC. Seeks educated professional with *joie de vivre*. Respond Nation Box 383, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

ISO SON-IN-LAW. Sincere cerebral compassionate scientific self-assured imaginative tolerant natural individualist optimist funny, for family with my outstanding daughter. SASE biography. Respond Nation Box 384, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

56-YEAR-OLD PROGRESSIVE WIDOWER, aviation professional, enjoys outdoors, camping, traveling, cultural/music events, ISO SF, 45–59, Albany, NY, Western MA, LTR.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

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ORGANIZATIONS

EXPLORE HUMANISM. See www.AmericanHumanist.org; call (866) HUMANISM.

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ORGANIZATIONS

PORTLAND/VANCOUVER *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. E-mail Mark Stephan for more information: stephanm@vancouver.wsu.edu.

SOUTH YORK COUNTY, ME, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please contact Herb. Call (207) 646-5431, e-mail pala@maine.rr.com.

AKRON/KENT, OHIO *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Please contact Pam by e-mail at questionaskwhy@yahoo.com or call (330) 298-9576. Will meet the second Thursday of every month from 7–9 PM.

PITTSBURGH *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact George Kanakis, (412) 421-3751, e-mail G.Kanakis@verizon.net.

WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

LEWISVILLE, TX, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (972) 219-4673 for more information.

MANCHESTER, CT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. Call Gary at (860) 649-0574 after 6:30 PM. Planning to meet on the last Sunday of every month.

ST. LOUIS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP NOW forming. Please contact Mary at (314) 352-5155.

OKLAHOMA CITY AREA: WANT A *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP? Call Hal Cousins at (405) 677-3623.

DENTON, TX, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Mark Cohen for more information, (940) 384-1775.

SAN JOSE, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Please contact Lawrence Bryan for further information. Call (408) 294-1073 or e-mail sjnation@yahoogroups.com.

WHEELING, WV, *NATION* STUDY GROUP FORMING: This ad is legitimate and not a joke. Contact Dianne Burnham, (304) 232-0590.

CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

WASHINGTON, DC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets third Saturday of the month at 3–5 PM. We invite new members. For more information call Frances Pasmanick at (202) 363-0278, e-mail fpasmanick@juno.com.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

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NONFICTION MANUSCRIPTS WANTED: Top royalties, major distribution: Brown Walker Press, www.BrownWalker.com.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

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COPY EDITOR. Part-time opening in the *Nation* copy department for assistant copy editor. Send résumé to Copy Chief, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 or e-mail to rcarey@thenation.com. AA/EOE.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

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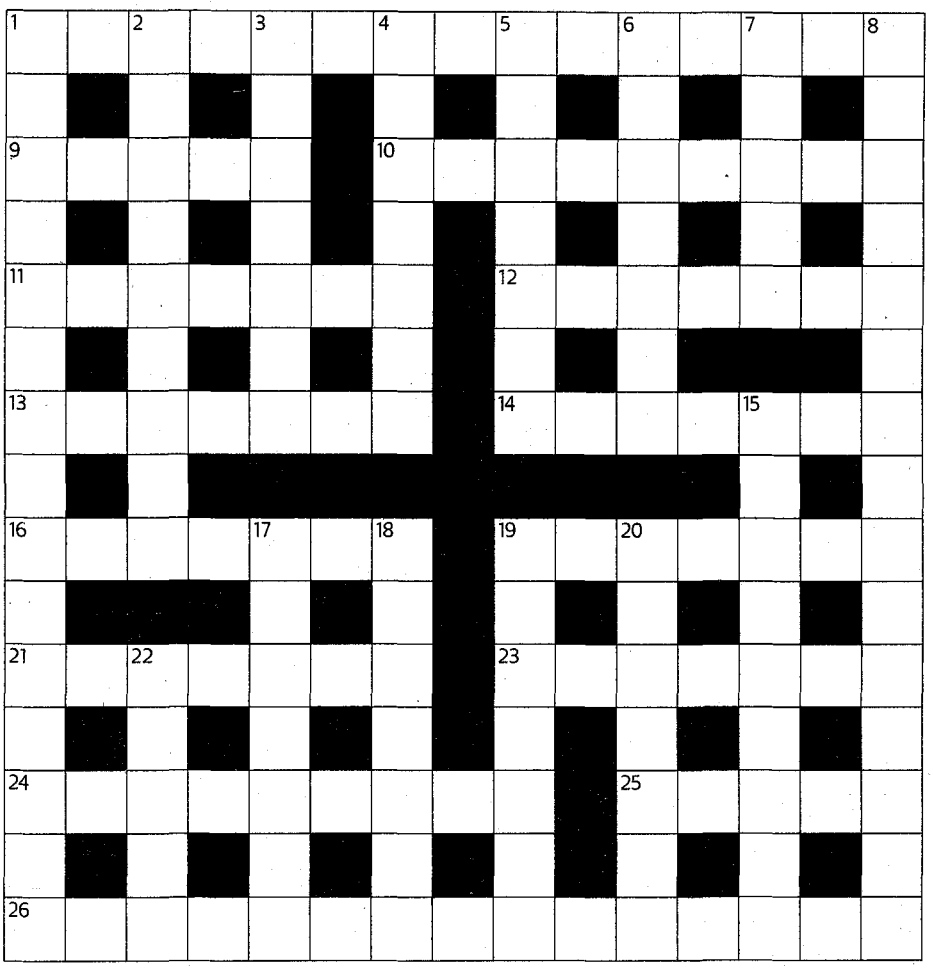
PUZZLE NO. 2925

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 You and I attending the lady's dance, possibly soon will make things that say whether things should be fair or not. (7,8)

9 A possibly unfortunate meeting where one has to hurry to get inside? (3-2)

10 Quaker, reputedly—like a writer on an extension of the table. (5,4)

11 It forms broken lines at where you might expect tidbits to be placed. (7)

12 Host the party again in your private quarters? (You won't find its meaning in advance.) (7)

13 Within eye-view, it might almost be a sixth sense. (7)

14 The old warrior is like your uncle, with the old place in first-class condition. (7)

16 Do you expect the net result to be profitable if you do? It nears two points possibly. (7)

19 Stab back a person who comes to a plate here and a wicket overseas. (7)

21 A low animal on a high point, but one can easily take care of things. (7)

23 Only one-half of a two-layered object. (7)

24 Being false, the claims made by Jonson proved he really couldn't turn things to gold. (9)

25 One can't say goodnight to her without a fair amount of air. (5)

26 Takes things in a euphemistic way. (15)

DOWN

1 A good spell does this, to be effective. (5,4,1,5)

2 Such chroniclers sound as though they try to take things to pieces. (9)

3 Roy Bean had a reputation of being such a judge, with the spirit put in suspense around it. (7)

4 Are in trouble with a common man making what might create a reaction. (7)

5 Current bases take the morning, with father's being in Paris. (7)

6 Responsible for a big shot having a drawn-out wisecrack coming up. (4,3)

7 A polite reference to a person's being just plain fat? British awards have a point! (5)

8 What cautious people look for with anesthetics, implying one is in danger when found alone. (6,2,7)

15 Abating for a certain period? (Watch when it comes up on the camper's protection!) (9)

17 Article on a common and annoying little fellow in Belgium. (7)

18 In an old-fashioned way before being disturbed about a bad liar and being not a later version. (7)

19 Where some travelers wait for one of Marilyn's films... (3,4)

20 ...or do they wait at places such as these? (7)

22 Such as antlers might be the sort associated with a takeoff, if you want ready-to-wear items. (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2924

		M	I	C	K	E	Y	M	O	U	S	E		
	S		R		I		A		D		W		C	
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In 1922, a small watchmaker in Switzerland patented the first automatic watch to display the day, month and date. Only 7 of these magnificent timepieces were ever made and this watch was almost lost to history. Today, they are so rare that one original chronograph watch would probably fetch more than $300,000 at auction.

These watches were among the most stylish of the roaring 20's. And yet no one has attempted to remake this 1922 classic until now. The Stauer watch design that you see here has been painstakingly recreated from the original functions to please even the most discerning owner. The owner of this classic chronograph watch is sure to look distinguished and set apart from the crowd. From the sweeping second hand to the Roman numerals on the unique ivory-colored face, every detail has been carefully reproduced. This Stauer reissue is a limited series, allowing you to wear a watch far more exclusive than many Rolex, Movado, TAG Heuer or Breitling watches.

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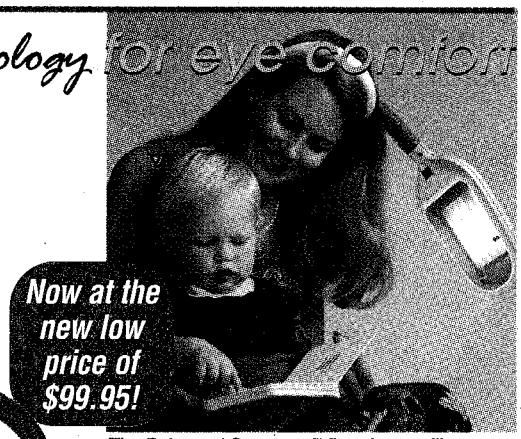
The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities...now available for under $100!



The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp...

...for reading...

...at work...

...and when you need a source of natural light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- Replicates the true spectrum of natural sunlight
- See with clarity and enjoyment
- Creates natural, glare-free light
- Dual position switch for 27 and 18 watts of power is equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulb
- Provides sharp visibility
- Elevating and luminous
- Flexible gooseneck design
- Instant-on, flicker-free light

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum™?

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Height as shown: 50"

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This light can change the way you live and work

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Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

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Grace A.
Margate, FL

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- 5,000 hours bulb life
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- Shows true colors

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